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'New Tenor' Noted in CSCE Follow-up Talks

AU230916 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 87 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar Vienna dispatch: "Conclusion of the Follow-up Meeting in Vienna; Will the New Tenor Mean a Turn in the Talks?"]

[Text] The last session of the 35 delegations to the CSCE follow-up meeting in Vienna was characterized by a new and more constructive tenor in statements made by Western delegates. They contained no confrontational attacks, but placed greater emphasis on cooperation in searching for the solution of controversial issues.

The Soviet-American summit meeting has indicated possibilities of achieving more rapid progress in the West-East dialogue. Will the new tenor in the Vienna International Center (VIC) mean a turn toward more dynamic and fruitful negotiations, and particularly toward preparing the final document of the Vienna meeting? The answer to this question will be provided by the next round, which will begin after a 5-week intermission on 22 January 1988.

One of the first to speak during yesterday's session was Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, head of the U.S. delegation, who began by quoting the joint declaration of U.S. President Ronald Reagan and CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev after their recent talks in Washington. He stressed the special responsibilities of the United States and the Soviet Union in searching for realistic solutions and more stable relations between the two countries." [quotation marks as published] In the statement made by the head of the American delegation, it commits itself to make every effort to reach significant and balanced [vyvazene] steps in the sphere of military security, and to work out the final document which would "reflect the new atmosphere and new thinking in East-West relations." The changed tenor of the American delegation could be the first sign of a change in the stands maintained by the American delegation in other negotiations.

Jiri Oprsal, deputy head of the Czechoslovak delegation, confirmed in his statement that the conclusion of the Vienna round was influenced by the extremely significant event which took place in Washington 10 days ago—namely, the signing of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. The results of the Washington meeting cannot but be reflected in the course of and prospects for the follow-up meeting in Vienna.

The Czechoslovak delegate expressed the hope that the Washington meeting would contribute toward a successful conclusion of the Vienna meeting in every respect—political, military, economic, and humanitarian. A week ago, the socialist states proposed new elements for improving the operation of the mechanism of cooperation and consultations in the areas of human rights and humanitarian problems. These proposals were aimed at shifting the problems of human rights from the sphere of confrontation to the basis of cooperation.

The Czechoslovak delegation stresses that it is essential to attribute greater importance to the second basket and to provide it with new stimuli for the development of economic, scientific-technical, and ecological cooperation. We continue our efforts to convene an economic forum in Prague. The commercial, but also industrial, circles in Europe are showing increasing interest in this forum, which could make better use of the economic potential anchored in the CSCE documents for the purposes of cooperation. Increasing interest is focused on the Economic Forum and on Prague winning the mandate to become its venue, because this undertaking would be directly linked with the process of economic restructuring currently under way in Czechoslovakia and other socialist states.

Yuriy Kashlev, head of the Soviet delegation, asked during the discussion: Is the Vienna meeting proceeding in the same spirit as great world events? It is regrettable that, after the fourth round of Vienna negotiations, none of the delegation will be able to reply in the affirmative. Work on the final document began 6 months later than planned.

The Soviet representative then dealt with the consultations conducted by 23 NATO and Warsaw Pact countries on the issues of reducing armed forces and conventional arms. An agreement has been reached to open the talks on this topic next year. According to Yu. Kashlev, this agreement expresses only inadequately the serious situation in the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments; the same can be said of the mutual elimination of inequality and asymmetry existing in certain kinds of weapons. Yu. Kashlev concluded by saying that the delegations should do their utmost to prevent the all-European process from lagging behind contemporary world affairs.

Assembly Commissions Prepare for Full Session

AU221405 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] The Permanent Commissions of Industry, Agriculture, and Construction-Transportation-PTT held their meetings to examine beforehand the problems that will be analyzed in the coming session of the People's Assembly.

Attending this meeting were also Xhafer Spahiu, vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly.

At the Commission of Industry, headed by its Chairman Llazar Koka, reports were given by the minister of industry and mining, Comrade Llambi Gegprifti; the Minister of Energy Lavdosh Ahmetaj, the minister of the food industry, Jovan Bardhi, the vice-minister of light industry, Esma Ulqinaku and the director of the general department of the engineering industry, Pandi Carapuli. They pointed out the work carried out in the context of implementing the directives of the ninth congress of the party for the further development of all the branches of our industry.

The commission appreciated the achievements attained during 1987 in the realisation of the tasks of the plan adopted by the People's Assembly in the field of mining and geology, the energy industry, the food and light industry and the engineering one.

At the Commission of Agriculture headed by Ahmet Osja, reports were given by the minister of agriculture, Themie Thomai. She gave explanations on the efforts made for the realisation of the plan in cereal production, the implemetation of the tasks on the livestock development as well as the measures adopted to guarantee the fulfilment of the plan of 1988. There were evaluated the efforts of the working people of agriculture as well as the best results of this year, as against 1986.

The Commission of Construction-Transportation-PTT, headed by Zenel Hysa, listened in its meeting to the reports presented by the minister of constructions Farudin Hoxha, the minister of transportation, Luan Babameto, and the director of the general P.T.T. department, Perikli Pani.

The discussions of the deputies of this commission were especially concentrated on the further increase of the level of the study work for the lowering of the cost of objects, the shortening of the time-limit of construction-assembly and commissioning of the productive projects, the increase of the scale of mechanization in constructions, the work for the ever more effective exploitation of all kinds of transportation, as well as the further exploitation of the existing capacities of the post and telecommunication services.

In the meetings during these days the commissions examined also the draft laws to be presented to the second session of the People's Assembly, analyzed their annual activity and adopted the tasks for the coming year.

Slovene Demands for Release of Kosovar Noted

AU221314 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 16 Dec p 4

[ATA-attributed report: "Slovene Writers Demand the Release of Kosovar Writer Adem Demaci from Prison]

[Text] Belgrade, 15 December—The Yugoslav newspaper BORBA of 8 December reports that Slovene writers have recently demanded the release from prison of the Kosovar writer Adem Demaci, stressing that in public opinion evidence has not been given to justify his sentence to 20 years in prison. The newspaper reports that the judicial commission of the Association of Slovene Writers and its commission for the defense of the freedom of thought and writing have addressed an open letter to the public prosecutors of the SFRY and of Slovenia, stating that Yugoslavia "is brutally trampling " the rights of citizens. "We publicly ask the Federal Secretariat of Justice how is it possible for this Albanian writer to serve a sentence that is longer than stipulated by our laws in general" the Slovene writers stated, adding that the Federal Secretariat of Justice has not presented any evidence to the public to justify such an inhuman sentence. The authors of the letter, the aforementioned newspaper points out, posed the questions: "What kind of courts are these, which can sentence citizens silently," and "Where does the Federal Secretariat of Justice find the right to remain silent at a time when we, because of its silence, are ashamed as citizens of this state."

Army Daily Series Discusses INF Treaty

AU221421 [Editorial Report] Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian on 15, 16, and 17 December on pages 1 and 4 in each case, under the general headline "Washington 87—Moscow 88: Balance With a View to the Future," carries a series of three articles, 3000, 2,300, and 2,300 words respectively, by Major General Engineer Stoyan Andreev, "senior scientific fellow and candidate of technological science," on the INF Treaty and general issues of nuclear disarmament

In the first article, "1. The First Treaty on Eliminating Nuclear Weapons," Maj Gen Andreev addresses two main issues: Does the elimination of about 4 percent of the world nuclear potential represent such an important breakthrough, and could one side to the treaty be regarded as the "winner" and the other the "loser?" Andreev begins by saying that "many opponents of the historic treaty signed by the USSR and the United States frequently argue that the treaty applies to the elimination of only 4 percent of the nuclear weapons that have so far been accumulated." Presenting the argument of the opponents of the treaty, that the remaining 96 percent of the world nuclear potential represents a considerable destructive force, Andreev repeats the question asked by the opponents of the treaty: "Has the treaty not been evaluated too optimistically?" Describing the particulars of the treaty Andreev answers by saying: "The destructive potential of all the warheads that are to be eliminated under the terms of the treaty, and whose combined capacity is 550 megatons, can annihilate all of mankind. However, when one takes into consideration the fact that the carriers of these warheads have a radius of 5,500 km and are deployed almost exclusively in Europe, it must be said that these weapons can destroy our continent 5 times!" "The political criteria used by certain politicians," Andreev concludes, are unsuitable for evaluating the potential of the nuclear missiles.

Andreev describes in detail the destructive potential of medium-range missiles, pointing out that these missiles "can strike any target on European territory within 4-8 minutes and with fantastic precision with a margin of error of only 10 meters." Stressing that the short time in which medium-range missiles can strike their targets does not allow for effective action on the part of antiaircraft and antimissile systems, Andreev says that "precisely because of this medium-range missiles are regarded as the most destabilizing components of the nuclear potential of the USSR and the United States."

On the second issue in this article Andreev emphasizes that "we are justifiably used to thinking that whenever a conflict is solved one side must inevitably win while the other loses. Therefore we are now asking ourselves who is the winner and who the loser?" Analyzing the specific number of missiles which the sides to the INF Treaty will eliminate, Andreev stresses that the U.S. missiles which will be eliminated "represent a serious threat to the Soviet strategic capacity," because they could strike targets on USSR territory as deep as the Urals. "One cannot say that the 1,613 USSR nuclear warheads which are to be eliminated under the terms of the treaty represent the same direct threat to the United States," Andreev points out, in arguing that the treaty is well-balanced despite the discrepancy in the number of missiles which the two sides to the treaty will eliminate.

The second article in the series, "2. The Treaty and the 'Compensations' of the West," deals with reservations about the treaty in the West. Noting the "superlative evaluations of the treaty on the part of Margaret Thatcher, Francois Mitterrand, Helmut Kohl and other noted Western leaders," Andreev says that "without the support of these figures President Reagan would hardly have signed the treaty." In contrast to this support, he goes on to cite Western reservations about the treaty. He quotes Mikhail Gorbachev as saying in his TV speech on his return from the United States that "certain circles in the United States and other Western countries are mobilizing themselves in an attempt to prevent the changes for the better," that "voices urging the U.S. leadership to stop before going too far and discontinue the process of disarmament are becoming ever stronger," and that "these are dangerous tendencies, which, must not be underestimated."

Noting that some circles in the West "are now urgently discussing measures related to circumventing the INF Treaty," Andreev points out that "this burning issue has evoked sharp discussions in Western Europe at various political levels. One cannot say, however, that common positions have already been formed." In this context Andreev maintains that "certain circles in Western Europe are striving to utilize the changes in the military-political situation in Europe after the third meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan with a view to intensifying the basic Western scientific-research programs related to creating new weapons systems." Describing French and FRG programs to develop new weapons Andreev says: "The 'compensation' measures far exceed the scientific-technical and industrial areas and already encompass the military-political structures. They will inevitably be reflected in West European military concepts."

"The new situation obviously poses difficult political and military-political problems for West European governments," he says. These governments are trying to cope with the new problems in the following manner:

"A unique 'division of labor' in the military area between the United States and Western Europe is beginning to emerge. The United States is concentrating its efforts on the future generations of strategic weapons and is intensifying its activity in the third world, while Western Europe undertakes its own defense in almost every direction except the global-strategic one.

"NATO's military policy is undergoing a process of 'Europization'. This, in addition to intensifying the military activity of the EEC and the West European Union, must increase the military pressure on the USSR and strengthen the unity and power of the West.

"Such an intensification of measures of 'compensation' in Western Europe may soon cause a sharp recompensation. This recompensation would compel the USSR to adopt reciprocal measures, something which would return the entire political process in Europe to its starting positions in 1987, without forcing the U.S. Senate to adopt a strongly compromising decision such as refusing to ratify the military treaties that have been signed." Such considerations, Andreev points out, "confirm the thoughts of Mikhail Gorbachev, expressed in Washington, that it is too early to hand out laurel wreaths for the work which has been done in the area of disarmament."

In the third article, "3. The Crucial Stage—50-Percent Reduction of Strategic Triads," Andreev begins by quoting Gorbachev: "Our journey to the nuclear-free world does not end after reaching one or two islands called medium-and shorter-range missiles. Now we shall proceed to solving the fundamental issue of USSR-U.S. relations—the reduction of the strategic nuclear weapons." Andreev points out that "the United States has accumulated about 15,000 strategic nuclear warheads and 2,210 strategic carriers, while the USSR has 10,000 such warheads and 2,484 carriers respectively" and adds that "the strategic nuclear warheads can destroy mankind 20 times!"

He describes the importance of strategic nuclear weapons disarmament, setting out the "basic premises" of a 50 percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, as "have been defined in the joint American-USSR summit declaration, published in Washington." "These premises show," he maintains, "that a fully balanced treaty on the 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear weapons could already be signed, however only while strictly observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and for the term it was agreed upon. Andreev points out that the USSR has agreed to the following compromises related to the SDI":

"Fundamental research may be conducted;

"Physical experiments may be conducted in the laboratories and under firing range conditions, but not in space;

"Objects, agreed upon by the two sides, other than weapons and their components, can be forwarded [izvedeni] in space." Andreev stresses that the USSR objects to any retreat from the ABM Treaty other than the aforementioned compromises, under the condition that the compromises themselves do not violate the framework of the treaty. In conclusion quotes Gorbachev as saying that "if the U.S. Administration would not listen to our opinion and begins to implement the SDI it must fully assume the total responsibility. Then the strategic stability would be violated and new spheres for the arms race will be revealed, something which would produce unforeseen consequences."

Military Historian Reassesses Balkan War

AU231032 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Dec 87 p 4

[Interview with Lieutenant Momchil Yonov, scientific fellow at the Institute of Military History of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff, by Khristo Marinchev—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] The numerous publications that appeared in our dailies and periodicals on the occasion of the 75th anniversary of the Balkan War evoked the justified interest of our public. However, as well as expressing satisfaction, many people are asking questions about the opinions on and evaluations of this glorious people's exploit, which are in contradiction with the current requirements of historical science. On this occasion a representative of our editorial board interviewed Lieutenant Colonel Momchil Yonov, scientific fellow of the Institute of Military History of the People's Army General Staff.

[Marinchev] Comrade Yonov, how would you explain the appearance of certain new elements in the evaluation of the Balkan War, of its goals, nature, and importance for the Bulgarian people and state?

[Yonov] The Balkan War marked the beginning of a new, qualitatively different stage in the Bulgarian people's struggle for the definite rejection of the unjust solutions of the 1878 Berlin Treaty and for settling, in alliance with the other Balkan peoples, the national Balkan question which emerged as a result of this treaty. Despite certain negative features characteristic of wars waged under capitalism, in its nature and results, this war was a progressive people's liberation war. It represented a specific continuation of the 1877-78 liberation war which played the role of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in our country. [passage omitted on positive evaluations of Balkan War by progressive leaders from Lenin to Bulgarian leftwing socialists].

[Marinchev] The successes of the Bulgarian Army in the Balkan War are undeniable. Its contribution to the development of military skills and art is undeniable. Can you briefly describe the reasons for this?

[Yonov] There are numerous factors determining this fact—both objective and subjective. The most striking however, is the progressive nature of the war, its liberation goals. This is the core of the overall heroism and selfless devotion demonstrated by our fathers and grandfathers, by our entire people, both in the field and in the rear.

[Marinchev] Can you describe the shortcomings and inaccuracies that have been allowed to occur in some of our daily and periodical press publications concerning the Balkan War?

[Yonov] The successes of our country in historical science are undeniable. Without ignoring our previous successes in this field, I think that certain shortcomings and inaccuracies still exist in some of the publications. We still come across certain negative evaluations and classifications of the goals and nature of the war for Bulgaria and for our people, which also existed in the last edition about the war dating back to 1960, although in the last 10 years Bulgarian historians have corrected some of them. Nevertheless, numerous authors continue to assert that the "war was waged under conditions of imperialism," while economic experts still insist that Bulgaria and the other Balkan countries were in a stage of undeveloped capitalism in those days, and describe this as the basic reason that the Balkan War was allegedly a war of transition from the manufacturing to the machine-tool period of capitalism. The opinion that the engineering forces did not form special organs and failed to maintain the roads during the war does not correspond to the truth. The existing documents prove exactly the opposite. The same applies to the evaluations regarding military communications, etc. The available documents and archives, memoirs, and other sources refute these and other negative evaluations of the achievements of our ancestors within the borders of our country, as well as in the liberated territories. Along with this, other problems exist that have not yet been sufficiently analyzed by scholars, and therefore our contemporaries do not know much about them.

[Marinchev] What about future prospects in this respect?

[Yonov] It is urgently necessary to write a new work on Bulgaria's participation in the Balkan War. It should conform with the requirements of historical science and be accompanied by collections of documents and materials. This will facilitate the edition of such a work on the war between the allies (Second Balkan War), as well as the compilation of a scientific work on World War I, which our Marxist historical science still lacks.

Yordanov Meets Hungarian Deputy Minister

AU221515 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Dec 87 p 2

[Text] The delegation from Hungary, headed by Ferenc Radkay, deputy minister of education and culture, which visited our country, was acquainted with innovation in our country's cultural sphere, with the restructuring process in the educational system, as well as with the Bulgarian experience in the esthetic education of young people.

The further intensification of cultural exchange between our two fraternal countries was discussed at a meeting with Comrade Georgi Yordanov.

The meeting was attended by Gyula Gyovay, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic in Bulgaria.

Paper Criticizes Actions of Turkish Citizens

AU230939 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 21 Dec 87 p 3

[Metodi Stoyanov article: "Humanitarianism—Yes, But No Indulgence]

[Text] Good neighborly relations require good will on both sides. We are living in an atmosphere of glasnost and active public discussion. Bulgarian citizens are interested in everything, and their self-confidence as masters of their own countries is steadily growing. It is precisely from such people—ordinary citizens—that I often hear opinions on foreign policy.

Recently a driver from the Motor Vehicle Transportation State Economic Trust who had travelled to our neighbor country, Turkey, told his friends how he had been humiliated and forced to pay unjustified fines to the Turkish police authorities. On the other hand, one of my acquaintances, who is a customs official, tells me every time we meet about Turkish citizens who violate Bulgarian customs regulations and try to smuggle drugs and weapons through our country. I have also heard about illegal currency transactions. The majority of drug smugglers arrested at our borders, for example, are Turkish citizens. I also know about frequent car accidents caused by Turkish nationals on Bulgarian territory.

Standing on the Trakiya highway at any time of day or night (especially during the summer season, but now, on the eve of New Year, as well) one can observe that a much larger number of Turkish drivers than Bulgarian drivers are racing their cars at speeds far exceeding the permitted limit. Wherever you may stop—in parking places, motels, or rest areas on the highway, you can find leftovers of food, garbage, and disorder remaining from this endless and tired stream of vehicles. Approximately 3 million Turkish citizens drive across our country annually, without paying even one leva of toll for the highway they are using, or for the damage they cause. Why? In all other countries Turkish citizens have to pay for their visas, except in Bulgaria, where they are entitled to free transit. We ask whether this is justified?

Our people are outraged. Some of them say: All right, we are a humanitarian, socialist state. These people who drive through our country are abandoning their homeland because of the poverty existing in Turkey. They are trying to make their living abroad, and this is a fact. I think, however, that our socialist state has made enough, and even too many, compromises for the sake of good-neighborly relations. Do we receive any gratitude for this gesture on the other side of the border? Not at all. On the contrary, certain political circles in Turkey today are carried away by genuine chauvinism and the bourgeois mass media are conducting a violent, anti-Bulgarian campaign. In view of this should we appear totally defenseless?

Is it not true that some of these Turkish citizens, so-called "Gastarbeiter" [as transliterated, German word for "Guest workers"], influenced by Ankara's hysteria, take part in protest demonstrations and lay black wreaths of mourning at the doors of Bulgarian embassies abroad?

We approve of socialist humanitarianism—yes! Nevertheless, this does not mean that we should practice Christian indulgence! Our state has established special institutions to protect its own and our citizens' interests. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Transportation, the Traffic Control Committee, as well as the customs authorities, and so forth, are such institutions. Our Bulgarian citizens are justified in asking why and how long we will tolerate this behavior on the Turkish side, which affects the prestige and interests of the Bulgarian state and of its citizens?

Anniversary of Treaty With Afghanistan Noted

AU221700 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Dec 87 p 4

[Detelin Vulkov article: "In Name of Future"]

[Text] The April 1978 Revolution, conducted under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, broadly opened the gates of the Afghan people's future. However, the new democratic government inherited a horrible heritage from the past—a practically total lack of industry, impoverished agriculture, desperate poverty, and illiteracy. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] had to start its construction from scratch.

At that point the socialist countries, led by the USSR did indeed prove their internationalism and humanity, incorporated in their international relations. The People's Republic of Bulgaria was one of the first countries which responded to the needs of the young republic. The Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the DRA, which was signed on 22 December 1981, and which placed friendship and cooperation between the two peoples on a judicial foundation, was a high point and brilliant expression of Bulgaria's steady support. Signed for a period of 25 years the document facilitated the successful development of economic and scientific-technical cooperation and enriched our relations with promising plans, which guarantee an ascending line of mutual relations.

Now, thanks also to the selfless assistance of the Bulgarian people Afghanistan is quickly developing its own industrial basis. Transportation is becoming ever more dynamic and agriculture is developing with a quick pace. The Bulgarian specialists, who pass their rich experience on to their Afghan colleagues, have a major share in this progress. The same could be said about the Afghan youth, who have completed their education and specialization in Bulgaria.

The successes of the Afghan people would have been significantly greater if imperialism had not tried to destroy the ideas of the April Revolution. Therefore at all international forums the People's Republic of Bulgaria is supporting, not only economically but also politically, the efforts of the Afghan Government and people to achieve the national reconciliation, to which they aspire so much, and which will facilitate the unification of the entire people in the name of Democratic Afghanistan's future.

The anniversary of signing the treaty affords the Bulgarian people and the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria another opportunity to wish the heroic Afghan people successes in constructing a unified and peaceful Afghanistan, and express their faith in and support of the ideas of the April Revolution.

Angolan President Receives Stanishev

AU221942 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Luanda, December 22 (BTA)—Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of MPLA-PT and president of the People's Republic of Angola, received today a BCP CC delegation headed by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev delivered an oral message from Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, in which the Bulgarian leader tells of this country's support for the just cause of the people of Angola and expresses readiness to further develop bilateral relations.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev briefed his host on the work of the BCP in fulfilment of the decisions of its 13th Congress and the Plenum of July 1987 on an in-depth restructuring in all fields of life in Bulgaria.

Mr Dos Santos told about the continuing aggression on the part of the Republic of South Africa, despite Resolution 602 of the UN Security Council and the demands of the world public for a complete and unconditional withdrawal of the racist forces. He spoke in support of the idea for Angola, Cuba, South Africa and SWAPO to sign an agreement under the aegis of the UN Security Council.

The Angolan leader assessed highly the restructuring process in Bulgaria. He expressed gratitude to the BCP and the Bulgarian people for their consistent support to the cause of the Angolan people.

The two sides expressed full support for the Soviet-American treaty which eliminated the medium- and shorter-range missiles.

The two politicians expressed solidarity with the people of South Africa and Namibia in their struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress and SWAPO, with the peoples of Central America and other parts of the world. They agreed on the need for the adoption of a new more just and democratic economic order.

Mr Stanishev and his Angolan host assessed highly the relations between the two parties and states and expressed willingness to develop them further. They agreed that it is necessary to upgrade the economic relations.

ica Fund

AU221909 Sofia BTA in English
1835 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] New Delhi, December 22 (BTA)—In a message to India's Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi, who is also chairman of the Committee of the Africa Fund for Combatting Foreign Invasions, Colonialism and Apartheid, Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council, expresses this country's readiness to take part in this noble initiative.

The Africa Fund was set up in line with the decision of the 8th Conference of the nonaligned countries in Harare. Mr Gandhi sent an appeal on behalf of the fund to all state and government leaders of the world inviting their countries to take part in it.

Taking into consideration the great importance which the fund's organizers are attaching to the training of personnel and Bulgaria's great potential in this respect, this country's government has decided to assist the front-line states, SWAPO and the African National Congress by creating scholarships for Bulgarian educational institutions and by extending techno-scientific assistance, reads Mr Todor Zhivkov's message.

According to the message, Bulgaria's consistent support for the Organization of African Unity, the front-line states and the struggling peoples of Namibia and South Africa is well known. The decision to take part in the Africa Fund corresponds to Bulgaria's principled policy in this respect and is a token of recognition by this country's public for the role of the nonaligned countries and India in particular in the progressive forces' struggle for the freeing of the African continent from the chains of colonialism, for the elimination of the disgraceful system of apartheid.

Bulgaria's ambassador to India, Mr Aleksandur Tonev, handed the message to Mr Eduardo Faleiro, state minister of foreign affairs.

Finance Minister's Statement on '88 Budget

AU181042 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Dec 87 p 2

["Excerpts" from the statement by Jaromir Zak, CSSR minister of finance, on the draft bill on the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation for 1988, presented at the Seventh Joint Session of both Chambers of the CSSR Federal Assembly in Prague on 15 December]

[Text] In drawing up the draft of the state budget for 1988 we used as our point of departure the long-term targets for that year set forth in the CSSR budget outlook for 1986-90. In keeping with the law on the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the draft state budget secures a balance between the resources and needs of both the entire budget system and its individual constituent parts, that is, the state budget of the Czechoslovak Federation, the state budgets of the two republics, and the budgets of the national committees.

The total volume of the revenues and expenditures of the state budgets and the national committees' budgets is planned at Kcs393.9 billion, which is Kcs12.5 billion or 3.3 percent more than in 1987.

Securing Balance Between Resources and Needs [subhead]

A key role in securing balance between the budgets' revenues and expenditures is played by the development of the financial performance of the cost-accounting [chozrascotni] sphere. The draft state budget for 1988 provides for a net financial contribution of economic organizations to the state budget of almost Kcs130 billion (excluding the turnover tax). The industrial sectors with a net contribution of Kcs86.7 billion and the construction sector with a net contribution of more than Kcs13 billion account for the lion's share of the generation of these resources. The contribution of the industrial sectors is Kcs5.5 billion higher and that of the construction sector Kcs0.5 billion higher than in the 1987 budget. The projected deficit of economic organizations of the agriculture-food industry complex in relation to the state budget is Kcs8.4 billion, which is an improvement of over Kcs1 billion compared with 1987. The projected deficit of economic organizations administered by national committees in relation to the state budget is also being lowered, from Kcs1.1 billion to Kcs170 million.

Surrendered profit shares of economic organizations account for the crucial part of the increment of the state budget's revenues. Total profits of these organizations should increase 10 percent next year, that is, by Kcs15.6 billion, and reach the sum of Kcs170.5 billion. Relative cuts in overall costs in relation to output account for Kcs12.7 billion of this increment. To meet this target it will be necessary to reduce the share of overall costs in the value of output 1 percent and the share of material costs alone 1.4 percent.

Far greater attention than heretofore will have to be devoted to the turnover tax, the second most important source of the state budget's revenues in terms of volume. We expect the turnover tax to yield Kcs92.6 billion in 1988. The yield of the turnover tax has been stagnant for a number of years and its share in the revenues of the state budget is declining, which is a grievous fact. This development indicates that many enterprises do not fully cope with the planned volume of deliveries to the domestic market, with the requisite merchandise range, and with the technical standards and quality of production.

Despite problems in the generation of budget revenues, the state budgets will secure in financial terms next year's targets concerning the development of our economy, the growth and improvement of the living standards of the population, and provisions for the defense capability of our socialist homeland.

The expenditures of the state budget on the development of the national economy will amount on aggregate to Kcs61.6 billion next year. Within the framework of this sum, noninvestment expenditures of the state budget on the development of science and technology will amount to Kcs8.9 billion in 1988, which is a 3.7 percent increase compared with the 1987 budget. If we add to this the internal funds of the economic sphere spent on the development of science and technology, these expenditures will amount to almost Kcs21 billion, 4.0 percent more than this year. Resources from the state budget provide for the proportionate funding of projects included in the state plan for the development of science and technology. In addition, the draft budget also reckons with the needs that will arise in the course of the year in connection with the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000.

The rate of return on investments in research and development is adversely affected by the slower-than-planned application of completed research tasks in production. Although the total volume of [production based on] applied research tasks between the beginning of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and the end of 1987 is more than Kcs4 billion higher than planned, the draft plan for 1988 provides for a cut of almost Kcs1 billion in the volume of production based on applied research projects because the application of some projects has been deferred to subsequent years and many projects have been scrapped altogether.

Enterprises Must Earn the Funds for Investments [subhead]

The planned volume of budget subsidies for investments is Kcs10.4 billion, which is Kcs1.7 billion less than this year. Most of these funds are earmarked for the construction of hydroelectric power projects, drinking water supply facilities, designated construction projects in organizations administered by national committees, and the replacement and expansion of the car pool in the transportation sector. The reduction in the share of state budget subsidies in the structure of economic organizations' investment expenditures deepens the dependence of investments on the generation of the enterprises' own resources.

Noninvestment subsidies for economic and cooperative organizations are planned to grow only Kcs0.2 billion compared with the 1987 budget. Almost two-thirds of the budgeted Kcs42.3 billion are accounted for by price supports and subsidies, most of which go into the agricultural complex.

In line with the set targets, there will be some deviations from the budget outlook [for 1986-90]—there will be a slight cut in noninvestment subsidies, coupled with some changes in their structure. We are reducing some subsidies while funding the unavoidable increase in subsidies for socially beneficial activities. This applies, in particular, to compensation for the losses incurred by local mass public transportation, the subsidies for which will increase 2.1 percent to Kcs4.4 billion, and to subsidies offsetting differences that are due to the application of the system of dual pricing [involving a higher price for the producer and a lower price for the buyer], notably in the area of electronic components.

Efficiency and the dynamic generation and effective utilization of resources in the economic sphere are the basic prerequisites for securing the comprehensive advancement of our socialist society. The accomplishment of the 1988 tasks set for economic organizations will be especially demanding. It will require maximum effort by all components of the economic management—the center, enterprises, and individual labor collectives. In spite of the measures adopted by the CSSR Government to achieve a more active fulfillment of the tasks of the state plan and the state budget, an inconsistent, irresponsible, formal, and bureaucratic approach to their implementation persists in many areas.

This is demonstrated by the results of the fulfillment of this year's tasks to date, notably by the results in cutting costs and by the development of inventories. The shortfall for the past 10 months in reducing material expenses exceeds Kcs4 billion. Organizations of the Ministry of General Engineering from among the federally administered sectors and organizations administered by the ministries of industry of the two republics account for a particularly big chunk of this shortfall.

The Negative Development of Inventories Continues [subhead]

No less weighty are the deviations from planned targets in the accumulation of inventories. We expect the planned volume of inventories in industry and the construction sector to be exceeded by roughly Kcs15 billion by the end of the year. The organizations that have contributed most to the unfavorable development of the accumulation of inventories this year are those administered by the federal ministries of general engineering, metallurgy and heavy engineering, and electrical engineering, and those administered by the Ministry of Industry of the Czech SR. This situation aggravates problems in supplier-user relations and is one of the basic causes of the substantial rise in the inability of enterprises to pay their bills.

In the second half of this year the CSSR Government critically reviewed developments in the area of inventories and charged individual sectors with specific tasks aimed at reducing the volume of inventories by a total of Kcs24 to Kcs25 billion by 31 December 1988. At the same time additional planning and financial measures are on the drawing board with a view to cutting inventories. They concern, in particular, the introduction of more rigid terms for crediting inventories and the projection of the undesirable accumulation of inventories into wage funds.

One of the common denominators of the negative tendencies in the development of costs and in the accumulation of inventories are serious shortcomings in the quality of products and in the way national property is used. Checks carried out by people's control committees and other inspection agencies show that the causes of these negative features are overwhelmingly subjective in nature.

All of this, along with the gradual introduction of elements of the new economic mechanism, requires that we fundamentally raise demands on the quality of managerial and organizational work at all levels of management and wage an uncompromising struggle against mismanagement, the wasteful use of social resources, and low financial discipline.

The draft of the state budgets and the national committees' budgets for 1988 secures in financial terms the implementation of set targets concerning the growth of our people's living standards. Noninvestment budgetary expenditures on social and cultural development are projected to reach the sum of Kcs178.3 billion, which is an increase of Kcs7 billion, that is, 4.1 percent. This increase reflects the social measures approved this year, pay adjustments, especially in education and culture, and it also contains reserve funds for measures in the old-age pension scheme that will become effective on 1 October 1988.

More than one-half of budgetary expenditures planned for these purposes—Kcs93.7 billion—is earmarked for the sphere of social security.

Kcs29.4 billion in noninvestment funds will be spent on education next year, which is an increase of 4 percent compared with 1987.

Noninvestment spending on health care will increase 5.4 percent to Kcs30.5 billion. As every year, the high growth rate of health care expenditures is chiefly a result of the great dynamism of expenditures on pharmaceuticals and special medical supplies, which will increase 8 percent, that is, by Kcs651 million, and will total Kcs8.8 billion. The budget also provides funds for planned increases in performance, especially for 1,673 new hospital beds and for an increase in the number of physicians' slots in out-patient care by 343.

Noninvestment expenditures on culture will increase 3 percent, to Kcs5.3 billion. Pay adjustments of Kcs100 million and the accelerated pace of the renovation of cultural monuments and urban conservation areas are both projected in these expenditures.

Budgetary expenditures on housing construction and the housing economy will exceed Kcs29 billion. Even though the volume of housing construction will be higher in 1988 than in 1987, with the plan providing for the completion of 97,647 apartments, total expenditures of the state budget on this area are being lowered, as a result of changes in the structure of the forms of housing construction. This is due to the increase in the share of cooperative housing construction where the state budget contributes only a portion of total costs and the reduction in the share of state housing construction, which is fully funded from the state budget. The budget provides for expenditures of Kcs5.6 billion to offset the losses of housing maintenance enterprises, which is a 1.3 percent increase compared with the 1987 budget.

A More Active Impact of Finances on the Balance of the Plan [subhead]

The drawing up of the draft state budget for 1988 was much more difficult than in previous years, in view of the lower dynamism of economic development compared with the original projections for this 5-year plan. Compared with the tasks for 1988 set forth in the budget outlook, the overall volume of budget revenues and expenditures incorporated into the draft budget for next year is almost Kcs10 billion lower. The difference reflects the unsatisfactory fulfillment of the planned generation of financial resources to date, especially of profits and the turnover tax. This situation must be tackled not only by pressure on the mobilization of untapped potentials and minimalization of shortfalls in the generation of financial resources, but also by an unavoidable reduction of the originally expected budget expenditures. The main measure in this respect is a cut by over Kcs7 billion in the volume of investments. Its aim is not merely to restrict budget expenditures but also to bring a greater pressure to bear on a more economical use of them, and in particular to promote the active impact of finances on the material proportions of the state plan in the direction of reinforcing the balance of economic development, which should also help secure a balanced state budget.

Despite the corrective measures that have been made, the budget management next year will be carried out in conditions of considerable strain between revenues and expenditures. We see the main risk factors in financial and budget management in the possible failure to meet the tasks of reducing costs, notably material costs, which would endanger the planned generation of profits.

The state of securing the fulfillment of the state plan for next year in the plans of economic organizations, which is so far highly unsatisfactory, confirms how great these risks are. The Federal Government is now assessing this situation and it will discuss proposals for the relevant measures at the beginning of next year. However, even now it can be realistically expected that in some areas it will be inevitable to modify the state plan. In dealing with these problems we will choose a course of action that will make sure that the modifications of the plan do not upset the balance of the state budget.

It follows from the overall characteristic of the preparation of and provisions for the state plan and budget for next year that the accomplishment of the set tasks will be exceptionally demanding. This requires that the efforts of central agencies, economic production units, and enterprises be directed primarily at overcoming shortcomings in their own work, at making full use of all accessible hidden potentials, and at reinforcing discipline and order. However, at the same time we must step up efforts geared to a creative elaboration, specification, and consistent conduct of the work on restructuring the economic mechanism, the realization of which is the starting point for implementing the strategy of accelerating the socioeconomic development of our socialist society.

Within the framework of work on restructuring the economic mechanism, we are currently working on a whole package of measures in the financial sphere, both in the area of the state budget and that of enterprise finances.

Several of the measures being planned, especially those concerning the system of payments to be surrendered to the state budget and the funding of development, are being tested within the framework of the Comprehensive Experiment in Enhancing the Independence and Responsibility of Economic Organizations for Efficient Development, which involves a continuously growing number of economic production units and enterprises. A total of 13 economic production units and 9 enterprises currently operate under the conditions of the experiment. An additional 19 organizations will join the experiment as of 1 January 1988 and yet other organizations are getting ready to join.

Within the framework of measures taken by the Federal Government to improve the quality of production, a supplementary payment to the state budget will be introduced at the beginning of next year, equalling the volume of losses due to poor quality production. At the same time, an instruction has been issued to carry out an analysis of the causes of losses due to poor quality production and to apply the conclusions from this analysis as a major criterion in evaluating the performance of economic organizations.

The changed approaches that we intend to gradually apply in fiscal policy under no circumstances relieve us of responsibility for the development of the budget management. However, we intend to fill the principle of balance between the revenues and expenditures of the budget with new contents—on the one hand, we intend to tie up the state budget more closely with the development of the economy, and, on the other, we also want to reduce to a minimum the risks of a deficit in the generation of budget revenues by setting tough budgetary constraints and by their consistent enactment.

Bratislava Reactor Critics Rebuffed

AU101303 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak
4 Dec 87 p 8

[Unattributed article: "Breeder of Technical Progress; The Experimental Nuclear Reactor and the Environment"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava and the environment—a much-covered topic in the last few weeks, also in connection with rumors about the unsuitability and even outright deleteriousness of the construction of an experimental [skolni] nuclear reactor in Mlynska Dolina [a part of Bratislava]. Scaremongers have made themselves heard about the danger of contamination with [nuclear] waste, the threat of gamma radiation, the possibility of equipment breaking down, and the unsuitability of the chosen locality, in view of population density and seismicity. Rumors have to be confronted with facts, with arguments.

We asked Docent Engineer Milan Hucl, candidate of sciences, prorector of the Slovak College of Technology [SVST] in charge of science and research, to give his opinion on the construction of the experimental nuclear reactor in Mlynska Dolina:

[Hucl] "The planned development of the Czechoslovak nuclear power industry urgently requires that we also comprehensively tackle the question of university instruction and training for the personnel operating nuclear power stations as well as for specialists in the other fields where nuclear technology is put to use.

"The CSSR is one of the ten advanced countries that are capable of manufacturing nuclear installations. [passage omitted] However, until now we have not had a single specialized reactor for training purposes. Just for illustration: The GDR has two such experimental reactors; the Hungarian People's Republic has had one since 1971—it is located on the campus of the Technical University in the central zone on the Danube where the population density far exceeds the Bratislava values; Austria has one experimental reactor, whose output is 2.5 times higher [tnan that of the planned Bratislava reactor] and which 's located near the Prater [Vienna recreation grounds and amusement park] where thousands of people go for relaxation every day; and the FRG has 14 experimental reactors.

"The safe and reliable operation of these and other similar reactors bears out that a reactor can be built and successfully operated in densely populated urban areas. The choice of Mlynska Dolina is correct for several reasons. A Preliminary Safety Report for the experimental nuclear reactor had been drawn up as part of the original project which we submitted to the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission in Prague for assessment. This report contains, inter alia, analyses of accidents, the methods of eliminating radioactive waste, data on the locality of the project, provisions for ensuring the quality program, and other information. On the basis of a positive evaluation of this comprehensive material, the Czechoslovak Atomic Energy Commission authorized in decision No. 72/1987 the construction of the VR-1B experimental reactor in Mlynska Dolina. The reactor's output, 100 (thermal) kilowatts, corresponds to the possibilities of reliably diverting the heat that is released during nuclear fission by the natural circulation of cooling water, as well as to the future users' requirements. Most experimental reactors in the world have a similar output—between 100 and 300 kilowatts. The swimming-pool reactor, the reactor type that has been chosen, has been chosen for reasons of nuclear safety, because of the simple and visible manipulation of nuclear fuel in resetting the active zone, and because it permits easy access to the active zone for the experimental installations. Apart from other things, the water in the swimming pool reliably binds the radioactive iodine, cesium, strontium, and ruthenium isotopes and prevents them from getting into the atmosphere. The Preliminary Safety Report describes a hypothetical [nadprojektovana] accident, in the wake of which some gaseous and highly-sublime products of fission get into the environment. [passage omitted] An analysis showed that, in the event of a stochastic effect of radioactivity on the population in the critical locality, the exposure dose would be at least 16 times below the permissible norm and, in the event of a nonstochastic effect, at least 36 times below this norm. This shows that even such an accident with the VR-1B reactor would not endanger the population. We also worked out an analysis of the geological and seismic situation in the locality. The survey showed that one can reckon with seismicity of 7 MCS [expansion of abbreviation unknown]—it needs to be said that the entire Carpathian area lies within this seismicity. The design of the reactor building has been adapted to this level. There is no regulation in the CSSR that would forbid construction of a reactor in a locality with a seismicity of 7 MCS, nor is there any recommendation by the Vienna-based IAEA to this effect.

"The question of the oxidation of sulfur and nitrogen oxides was assessed by the Department of Nuclear Chemistry at the Faculty of Natural Sciences of the

Comenius University in Bratislava, which has provided the following opinion: All radiation oxidation and radiation synthesis reactions taking place in the air as a result of reactor radiation will produce about 10 million times fewer deleterious substances than reactions which take place in the atmosphere as a result of bar and cosmic radiation. Special attention has been devoted to the elimination of gaseous, liquid, and solid radioactive wastes. There will be no leakage of gaseous radioactive wastes under normal operation and liquid radioactive wastes will be intercepted in special containers. They will be emptied into the sewerage system only if the level of radioactive substances does not exceed the value of 10 becquerels/1. [presumably per liter] [passage omitted] If the measured activity exceeds this level, the waste will be hauled away by a special vehicle of the Institute for the Research, Production, and Use of Radioisotopes to the depot of the Mochovce nuclear power station. "Solid radioactive wastes of medium and low activity, such as working gear, parts of the reactor's experimental equipment, filters, and so forth, will be eliminated in the same way. [passage omitted] Highly radioactive wastes, such as damaged activated fuel cassettes, will be permanently deposited in the storage area for spent fuel elements on the reactor's premises. We have also dealt with the problem of terminating the reactor's operation after a projected period of 30 to 40 years, provided that no decision is made to reconstruct it. The entire technological equipment, including its active parts, can be safely dismantled and hauled away to the regional depot for permanent storage without endangering the population. After removing the concrete containment shell, which will be essentially nonactive, it should even be possible to convert the reactor hall into a gym. [passage omitted]

"The construction of the experimental nuclear reactor is of exceptional importance as a part of the Czechoslovak concept of ensuring nuclear safety in its entirety, including education and science. Just like the representatives of the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists, we too are naturally interested in the protection and also the enhancement of the environment. After all, we, too, live in this environment and, moreover, we also bear pedagogical responsibility for the training of specialists who will be working in installations that exert an influence on the environment. [passage omitted] As in the past, now too we are ready at any time to take up an open-minded discussion on the construction of the experimental nuclear reactor and on ensuring its safe operation."

From among the spontaneous reactions of experts addressed to our editorial office, we convey the view of Engineer Jozef Pokorny:

"In the pages of VECERNIK the public has already been informed that the investment plan of the SVST for the coming years provides for the construction of an experimental nuclear reactor. [passage omitted]

"The direct designer, Chemopojekt Prague, has used experience from the operation of the Czechoslovak research reactors in Rez, from the experimental reactors in the FRG, Vienna, and Budapest, and from the design of the experimental nuclear reactor that is currently under construction in Prague. The investor, the designers, the supplier of the technological part (the Skoda concern), as well as the relevant authorities of the City National Committee of Bratislava have devoted extraordinary attention to the preparation of this project. [passage omitted]

"The following facts need to be stressed in this connection:

"1. Protection through distance is not necessary, because the experimental nuclear reactor will pose no threat to the surroundings of the reactor building—neither under normal operation, nor in the event of breakdowns and accidents caused by defective equipment or through operator error. All contamination will remain inside the building.

"2. On the basis of a study by the Slovak Academy of Sciences, the seismicity of the building site has been projected into the design. [passage omitted]

"3. As for the synergic effects of radioactivity in the atmosphere, there will not be any, because the activity of the air released from the reactor building will not exceed the average activity of the surrounding atmosphere.

"4. The project provides for the following method of eliminating radioactive wastes:

"Gaseous waste will be intercepted by filters with 99 percent efficiency.

"Low-activity solid waste will be stored in shielded areas on the reactor's premises, from where it will be periodically hauled away, under very strict supervision, in casks by a shielded container of the Institute for the Research, Production, and Use of Radioisotopes to the radioactive waste treatment plant in Mochovce. The time between the reactor's and the Mochovce waste treatment plant's coming on stream will be bridged by temporary storage in Mochovce.

"Low-activity liquid waste exceeding the limit of 10 kilobecquerels per cubic meter—the limit permitting it to be emptied into the sewerage system—will be stored in containers and periodically hauled away for processing in Mochovce by a tank truck from the Institute for the Research, Production, and Use of Radioisotopes. [passage omitted] The Mochovce regional depot will be the ultimate storage area for this waste.

"The project does not address the question of transportation of spent fuel, in view of the long life cycle of this fuel, given the low level of its utilization, and in view of the nationwide solution for the transportation of spent fuel that is now being prepared. [passage omitted]

"5. The project also does not address the question of terminating the reactor after its service life is over. Two different methods of decommissioning nuclear reactors are known in the world—in three or in four stages. The three-stage method will most likely be chosen in the case of the experimental reactor. The first stage comprises the deactivation of the building and the concrete encasement of the reactor (a prism of 8 by 8 by 10 meters), the second stage the demolition of the building, and the third and longest stage the scrapping of the body of the reactor."

The experimental nuclear reactor will become a breeder of technical and scientific-technical progress in the Slovak SR in this demanding branch.

Austrian Article on Bratislava Rebuffed

AU222011 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak
21 Dec 87 p 3

[Article by Lubomir Lenoch: "We Will Help Ourselves"]

[Excerpts] Those in neighboring Austria who on 10 November 1987 bought issue No. 48 of the weekly PROFIL, a publication of entrepreneurial circles, were able to read under the headline "Environmental Bomb" an article on the Bratislava environment. Its author, Misha Glenny, demonstrated in it the method of producing a piece of journalism "by means of scissors and paste." He derived information for his article from the GEGENSTIMMEN magazine, a press conference for foreign journalists at the building site of the Mochovce nuclear power station, as well as the publication NAHLAS, issued by primary organization No. 6 of the Slovak Union of Nature and Landscape Conservationists in Bratislava. In its preamble the authors of that document themselves say "...we are submitting it with the awareness of possible errors and incompleteness..."

The author did not mind in the least this awareness of possible errors and incompleteness. The article thus culminates in several assertions, to which it is impossible not to react.

Even the subtitle of the article reads: "An Ecological Report Throws Bratislava Into Panic." And it continues: "...many of Bratislava's inhabitants are trying to move to more remote parts of the city. Real estate prices in the cleaner districts have risen to 200-300 percent above those in the polluted ones... The inhabitants react with panic: Run for your lives..."

Wonder of wonders! As if Bratislava were somewhere at the other end of the world and it was impossible to see from the neighboring country the real, true pulse of its life.

And, finally, yet another area that the article touches upon (there are truly many of them, the author mentions, inter alia, also the planned construction of an experimental reactor):"...drinking water, which is rare in the CSSR anyway, is particularly in danger in Bratislava..." M. Glenny is concerned about subterranean water, specifically about the subterranean reserves of drinking water endangered by the Slovnaft plant, but also about surface Danube water. The author "has no knowledge" of the abundant new sources of subterranean drinking water in the Rusovce-Ostrovne Lucky area. He has also forgotten that it is precisely to protect subterranean drinking water of the area of the Zitny Ostrov that a so-called hydraulic screen has operated around the Slovnaft premises for a number of years, which guarantees sufficient protection. He also fails to consider the fact that over the last 10 years this petrochemistry combine has completed, and continues to build, a large number of outright ecological projects. [passage omitted] The funds spent on ecological facilities—the effluent treatment plant alone cost Kcs 1.2 billion—are yielding results. Emissions of sulphur dioxide decreased from the one-time 50,000 tonnes to around 43,000 tonnes in 1980 and 28,000 tonnes in 1985. The ongoing conversion of the plant to gas will reduce this amount further.

And what about surface water, Danube water?

The basic truth is that it used to come to Czechoslovak territory from Austria polluted, and still does, notably from the microbiological viewpoint. Addressing a seminar for journalists in 1973, Czechoslovak limnologists had the following to say about this:"...The heaviest pollution of the Danube in our country is on its point of entry to the Czechoslovak territory. The natural self-cleaning process gradually eliminates this stress so that the water flowing into Hungary is cleaner than the water coming from Austria." [passage omitted] The Vienna effluent treatment plant that went into operation around the year 1981 has greatly improved the situation. In spite of this, the water which the Danube brings to our country is still not clean. No one in our country has ever panicked from this, neither before 1981 nor today...

The environmental bomb invoked in the headline of the PROFIL article is not about to explode in Bratislava. Nor are there any traces of panic or of citizens' attempts to move out of the city. The ordinary truth is that the exceedingly high dynamism of the city's development over the past decades has created some problems, problems that are the same as those experienced by similar cities all over the world. The ecological problems of Bratislava are known, they are brought up on the carpet very often, they are written about in the daily press and in periodicals, they are being discussed and dealt with by party and state agencies. This is also confirmed by the recent important second joint session of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee and the Bratislava City National Committee devoted to the problems of protecting and enhancing the environment.

It is a fact that no one in our country is looking at developments in the field of ecology through rose-tinted spectacles. [passage omitted] Nor does anyone think that, despite the increased efforts and endeavor, the problem will disappear by a wave of the magic wand. The ecological path of contemporary Bratislava has its rational targets, it has its program, and it is looking for solutions, and is finding them. The public should perhaps be kept better informed on this path, to get to know it and to give it broader support than has been the case so far.

However, no one should "meddle with" this program on which we set out in the manner in which the PROFIL article does. We will quite certainly manage to deal with the ecological cosmetics of Bratislava, the capital city of the Slovak SR, on our own.

Slovak Power Plant Construction Discussed

AU181258 Vienna Television Service in German
2122 GMT 16 Dec 87

[Otto Hoermann documentary: "Little Brother Slovakia"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The Danube is being forced into a canal 25-km long and 730-meter wide so that it will produce enough energy for a storage power plant [Gabcikovo]. This is the largest canal in the world the Slovak planners say. No wonder that, in comparison with the scale of the project, the protests against the power plant are only small.

This protest involves both ecological questions and questions concerning minority policy. One of the main figures of the protest movement is Miklos Duray, a member of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. Duray is an activist for the rights of the Hungarians and was imprisoned because of it. Duray thinks that the power plant is being constructed for political reasons rather than because of energy needs.

If one were to proceed from the economic point of view, it would have to be considered that 5,000 hectares of agricultural land and the same area of wood are being destroyed, he says. Central Europe's largest drinking water reservoir is being destroyed. In his view, the conditions of agricultural production in this area are being profoundly changed. [passage omitted]

[Begin Duray recording in Hungarian with superimposed German translation] The construction of the power plant clearly also involves the question of national minorities. More than half of the Hungarian minority in the CSSR lives in the area of the power plant. According to the 1980 census, the Hungarian minority amounts to about 570,000 people. The predominant part of the minority, which works in agriculture, lives in this area. The structural change in agriculture would—most of all—have an effect on the Hungarians. To date such a structural change has always resulted in people moving out of the affected area. The compact unity of the Hungarian minority in the CSSR would thus be loosened.

Public opinion is divided. The Slovaks have a passive attitude to this question because they are less affected by this problem than the Hungarians. The Hungarian public is also passive, because the Hungarian minority is the most intimidated group in the CSSR. Recently the view has spread among the Slovaks that if one wants to destroy the last bastion of the Hungarian minority in the CSSR, one should indeed build the power plant. [end recording]

Party Resolutions Not Sacrosanct

AU171007 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
15 Dec 87 p 4

[Article by docent Michal Suchy, doctor of philosophy, chair of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy at the Faculty of Philosophy of Comenius University, Bratislava, in the "On a Current Theoretical Topic" column: "Combating Scholasticism and Dogmatism With Dialectics"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] We realize that restructuring is incompatible with dogmatic and scholastic thinking. After all, the only way of getting it started was by upsetting many rigid and scholastically justified and defended views of socialism. [passage omitted]

Some features of scholasticism have also infiltrated our way of thinking, notably in the area of social sciences. The quotation of ideas regarded as the sole truth has been used not rarely (and this method of thinking has not been overcome to this day) as the ultimate argument in papers and discussions. The ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, in particular, have been used and often misused to justify sometimes very dissimilar and even diametrically opposite views. The main purpose of this method of argumentation was to prove that the ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism or other authors coincide with the views regarded in a given period as the sole truth in individual areas of theory and practice. Study of the reality has often been of secondary, marginal importance. [passage omitted] Even speculative and unfruitful disputes about the interpretation of some ideas of the classics of Marxism-Leninism were not rare, disputes that were detached from real life and in which arguments were delivered from a position of authority. In many instances it was not the plausibility of the argument that carried the greatest weight, but rather the person presenting this argument. [passage omitted]

The question is not whether to refer or not to refer to the classics of Marxism-Leninism in our work, whether to quote their ideas or not. What matters is that we should not present their ideas as something absolute and should not treat them as petrified, unchanging principles, on the basis of which it is possible to explain and find arguments for everything. It was precisely by virtue of treating some principles of Marxism-Leninism as absolute that the method of thinking which we call dogmatic or scholastic came about in our country. This method of thinking is confined to a narrow and rigidly demarcated sphere, and overstepping the limits of this is considered to be identical with overstepping the bounds of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the discussion on many problems is essentially a token discussion, because it is known in advance what is correct and what is incorrect. In an atmosphere of dogmatism, creative thinking naturally becomes paralyzed.

When the social sciences are today reproached for not being up to the requirements of restructuring, it should be borne in mind that this situation is precisely a consequence of dogmatic thinking. [passage omitted]

Social sciences are tied up with political practice. In this connection they are confronted with a factor that is of great importance for them—the resolutions of individual social agencies on the problems of politics, the economy, management, culture, and other spheres of our life. Because many resolutions are not merely guidelines for practical activity but also comprise theoretical issues, the perception of their role in the social sciences is inadequate. There can be no successful and purposeful practical activity without resolutions, which act as guiding and binding norms. However, the practical aspect of resolutions must not be mixed up with the theoretical aspect. We can pass a resolution on the practical implementation of some findings, but we cannot pass a resolution on whether these findings conform with truth or not. That is decided by sociohistorical practice. That is why theoretical findings and views contained in resolutions cannot be perceived as the sole truth and as unassailable. They must be supplemented with further findings, corrected, and even rejected where appropriate. Treating them as something absolute [absolutizacia] and using them as an authoritative argument in discussions inevitably slows down the development of social sciences.

Dogmatism and scholastic thinking, although wrapped up in Marxist terminology and in our conditions usually presented as the only correct method of dialectical-materialist thinking, are naturally incompatible with the essence of Marxism-Leninism. Unlike dogmatism, dialectics does not treat any level of acquisition of knowledge as absolute, but perceives individual findings merely as steps in the continuous process of the acquisition of knowledge. [passage omitted] Even an error is not alien in this process, because the acquisition of knowledge involves not only acquiring truthful findings, but also overcoming errors. That is why there are no unerring people, either in everyday life or in scientific study, whose views would be correct all the time, or people who would have a monopoly on the only correct interpretation of Marxism-Leninism. We must not forget this if the findings we have attained are not to degenerate into dogmas, which are an impediment to the further process of acquiring knowledge.

Dogmatism and scholasticism are rightly the subject of frequent criticism in the social sciences today. However, much less is being said about the reasons for their emergence. Indeed, how is it possible that certain features of "medieval" scholasticism have struck roots in the socialist system, which is founded on a scientific ideology that has its point of departure in dialectical materialism?

The most frequent and widespread answer to this question is that scholasticism has been inherited from the past. [passage omitted] This is quite a convincing reply at first glance, undoubtedly there is some truth to it. [passage omitted] But when we take a closer look at the problem, this view turns out to be very one-sided. It also does not explain why scholasticism was able to become domesticated in our country and to procreate. It would not have struck root and would not have also infiltrated the social sciences, were it not for the existence of advantageous conditions for it. At this place we can only briefly say—which naturally involves simplification—that, aside from other factors, these conditions were created by the political practice in supervising the social sciences. It was the political practice in supervising the social sciences that made it possible for some views to come to be officially regarded as the sole truth, that established conditions for dogmatic thinking. [passage omitted]

Marxism-Leninism as a scientific ideology is inherently a hostile environment for dogmatic and scholastic thinking. However, as has become apparent, a certain political practice can create very favorable conditions for it and thus permit it to paralyze the foundation of scientific ideology—dialectical materialism.

It is for this reason that the criticism of some social sciences for their dogmatism and scholastic theorizing cannot be aimed at a single recipient. This criticism also has to be addressed to the political practice that made it possible for dogmatism and scholasticism to strike root in social thought. The struggle against dogmatism and scholasticism in the theoretical sphere must be combined with the struggle against the conditions permitting the emergence of this method of thought.

In this connection the question arises of the influence of theory on practice. After all, it is possible to claim with good justification that the incorrect political practice was the result of incorrect theory. A vicious circle thus comes about. Theory blames political practice for its mistakes, and vice versa. How can this problem be resolved? If we are to answer this question, we must not forget one important fact—theory alone, not matter how truthful (if left to its own devices), cannot forbid people to exercise incorrect policy. Incorrect practice, on the other hand, can thwart the creation, but also the utilization, of truthful theory. The greater power in this mutual interdependence is thus on the side of political practice. It is thus not only theory but, equally, also political practice that must see to the overcoming of dogmatic and scholastic thinking in our life.

Socialist Patriotism, Internationalism Viewed

AU171817 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Dec 87 p 4

[Article by Anton Hambalek, doctor of law at the Supreme Court of the Slovak SR: "Proud of One's Fatherland; Thoughts on Socialist Patriotism and Socialist Internationalism"]

[Text] To be a good patriot and internationalist means to be proud of one's fatherland, of one's birthplace—to show pride in one's people, and one's love for them, and to feel respect for their language, culture, history, and traditions. This is linked with honesty, modesty, selflessness, and a socialist attitude to work. To be a good patriot means to consolidate fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community, and to show solidarity with people who are fighting to defend their freedom.

Respect for one's fatherland, and a sense of proletarian and socialist internationalism, they do not appear automatically, these attributes must be inculcated from early childhood, in the family, at school, in work collectives. It is here that social organizations play a special role; this applies particularly to the Socialist Youth Union, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, physical culture clubs, the Union for Cooperation With the Army, and so forth. However, one must concede that the task of rearing people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and socialist internationalism is not always properly appreciated everywhere. In fact, this was also stated at the 17th CPCZ Congress. This work is considerably affected by various hostile elements from the West. With their daily, ideologically subversive propaganda, spread by such radio stations as Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and so forth, they spread distrust among our people and disrupt all that is positive in the development of socialist construction.

In our country, too, we have some individuals who easily succumb to propaganda. First of all, these people have split, petty bourgeois personalities and their creed is to extract as much as possible from socialism, while giving it as little as possible of themselves. That is why I often reflect about people whom our society has enabled to study at university-level schools free of charge, and who emigrate to the West after concluding their studies. I cannot get rid of the impression that most of them must already have been thinking of emigrating before starting their studies, or else during their studies. In this context I recall a talk between our foreign correspondent and a U.S. citizen, who said that he would have liked to study at a university-level school; but since he is jobless and the studies would cost $200,000, where would he get the money?

In our country such problems were unknown, for instance, to physicians and medical doctors Ivan Hronec, from the District Institute of National Health (OUNZ) in Senica; Daniel Pesko and his wife Ivana, both from the OUNZ in Nove Zamky; to Pavol Causov and his wife Gabriela, both from the OUNZ in Zilina; to Danka Michalcikova from the Bratislava City Institute of National Health (UNZ); and to other people with a university education, whose studies were paid for by our society—to the tune of Kcs500,000 for each of them. After acquiring practical experience, they used tourism abroad to emigrate to capitalist states. The United States, too, is interested in just such highly qualified cadres. This was aptly expressed by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev; in an interview preceding his U.S. visit, he told the moderator of the American NBC television company that America is organizing a brain drain from other countries; under the pretext of actively defending human rights, it is thus acquiring highly qualified cadres without any expenditure of its own.

I have asked myself many times: What kind of relationship do these people have toward their fatherland, their birthplace, their people, their friends and parents? How have they shown their gratitude to the worker whose work enabled them to finish their studies? When they were to reimburse society for its investments in them, they emigrated. What kind of morality do these people have, who probably reached the medical faculty thanks to string-pulling? On one occasion I was told by a physician: "My former colleague, who had emigrated to the West, has been bragging to us in his letters about the car he bought in Canada; at the same time, his parents often have to consult me about their serious health problems. But he is not interested in their state of health—obviously, his car, which he also had at home, is far more valuable to him that the health of his own parents."

True, one can also mention representatives of other professions and their attitude toward their fatherland, their standards of socialist patriotism—including athletes, many of whom have achieved outstanding results and thus were, and are, exemplary representatives of our fatherland. In this they prove their devotion and sincere attitude toward our fatherland and its people (who are proud of them) even beyond our borders. For instance, we will always remember the exemplary representative activity of our glorious soccer goalkeeper Frantisek Planicka. Last year he confessed his relationship toward his fatherland by writing in NOVE SLOVO: "When I used to put on my team jersey, it was as though I put on a second skin. Then the national anthem was played and I had my heart in my mouth...That anthem, it was far more difficult to bear than the whole match. We stood like statues...I like to travel, but how could I leave for long? I was born here, this is my fatherland, it is here that I want to bring joy to others and prove what I can do. I cannot understand those who leave. I would never feel at home in an alien world. I would miss the calm and the certainty. Without them I could not be a sportsman, I could not live."

In April 1987 I again read beautiful words about patriotism in NOVE SLOVO. They were said by Maria Durisinova, an athlete of merit and Czechoslovak handball representative. "...To this very day, when I stand on the field and they play our anthem, I am surprised that I have this honor. I do not want to sound melancholy, but I feel the need to say: regardless of where I am, I carry my homeland in my heart. I do not tolerate any disparaging talk about our country. This is my homeland, my friends and people close to me live here, people who are at my side when I need support and a good word at the right time. This is my certainty."

But what is one to think of an athlete who has grown into a world tennis player in our fatherland thanks to the care our state devotes to sporting talents—of Ivan Lendl, who was asked if he was homesick by an editor of the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL, and who said in reply: "Not really. From my early childhood I have been away from home so often that the definition 'fatherland' has become an abstract term for me. Now my fatherland is Connecticut, where I have my six dogs, where I play golf and meet my friends." It is almost unbelievable where greed for money has led some of our former representatives who emigrated. Some have even started to become drug dealers, as attested to by former ice-hockey representative Jiri Bubla who was sentenced to 5 years in neighboring Austria for smuggling heroin and hashish from Canada to Austria.

And finally let me mention people who violate the principles of socialist patriotism by their petty bourgeois way of life—the various speculators whose two-faced nature has brought them into conflict with our legal and moral norms. They are guilty of gross violations of socialist legality, of enriching themselves in unjustified ways to the detriment of our society; they have even succeeded in winning certain leading figures and functionaries over to their evil ideas and in involving them in compromising situations. This is proved by cases such as that of Babinsky and company, Zelik and company, and others, which have been dealt with by the courts.

All that I have said here, and also my other experience, testifies that we have quite a number of weak places in certain spheres, above all in cadre work. Students are often accepted for university-level studies without a deeper study of their views about society, their political and class stands, and so forth. In quite a few cases this is due to string-pulling. The very same manifestations of favoritism, nepotism, friendship, and toadying are apparent in the appointment of certain people to responsible functions; their moral, political, and professional knowledge, their class awareness, and their attitude toward the socialist society, toward the people, and toward socialist property are not taken into account. Later, in their function, they are not loath to use various illegal practices to acquire material advantages for themselves and their broader entourage.

Court experience shows that these people also include party members, whose behavior has violated not only legal, but also party norms anchored in the party statutes, which particularly stress the Leninist modesty, veracity, and honorable attitude of every Communist toward the party and the people. The statutes mobilize the Communists for a struggle against immodesty, ostentation, megalomania, alibi-seeking, bureaucracy, and so forth. They particularly stress the energetic enforcement of the idea of proletarian and socialist internationalism and patriotism; the tightening of fraternal relations between our people and the people of the Soviet Union, of the other countries of the socialist community, and the proletarians and working people throughout the world; and an unappeasable attitude toward the enemies of socialism, communism, peace, and the freedom of nations. These attributes commit every party member to serve as an example to those around him, in his behavior and his deeds. This is the important contribution of every Communist to rearing our people in the spirit of socialist patriotism.

Adamec at Czech National Council Session

LD222315 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] The Czech National Council today approved the law on the state budget of the Czech SR. Vaclav Klement informs: Full support for Soviet-U.S. treaty on the eradication of medium- and short-range missiles, the introduction to the deputies of Bohumil Urban, new deputy premier, and the election of Zdenek Krc, the deputy chairman of the Czech National Council: all this was included in the introduction of today's meeting opened by Comrade Josef Kempny. The budget consists of 165 billion kcs and the income covers expenses. The deputies and the members of the Czech government, led by Comrade Ladislav Adamec, then concentrated in their discussion on the draft of the Czech SR state budget for next year. It was introduced by Jiri Nykodym, minister of finance. It covers the planned tasks, but there is no money to spare.

The joint rapporteur of the committee, Deputy Miroslav Mrazek, said in his report that despite all the critical remarks on the fulfillment of the plan that were raised during the inquiry and deliberations of the Committees of Deputies, he recommended, in their name that the Czech National Council promulgate the draft budget.

Eleven deputies spoke in the discussions. They made many critical comments and proposals, and voiced their support for the government in tackling pressing problems.

At the conclusion of the discussion, Comrade Ladislav Adamec took the floor. He said that although this year's plan did not reflect realistic conditions, the economic accountability [khozraschet] sphere also had not sufficiently mobilized its resources, possibilities and reserves.

He said on the following of the situation in the home market:

[Begin Adamec recording] Comrades, I think that we understand each other. If we are not fulfilling at home the planned production of this amount of goods, this must be reflected on home market. Unfortunately, the whole consumption industry is built on raw materials which we have to import—wool, cotton, leather, rubber and I do not know what else—and we have to be able to earn the funds to buy them. We must be able to export.

And the work of our people in the industry, despite the bad times this year, has to be highly appreciated. We fulfilled the tasks of export for the first 6 months by 100 percent and the consumer industry exported to the West goods in the value over 9 billion kcs; that is, it exported more than all three engineering ministries together. And we are also in a position to fulfill all the tasks for the second half of the year.

Really, we must bow to our people, who are able to fulfill these tasks in exceptionally difficult conditions. Otherwise, we would have to halt production as such, as we do not have hard currency for raw materials. Naturally, however, when we export all these goods and the plan has not been fulfilled, there is a shortage on the home market. We are short by many billions of kcs. Therefore, people justifiably complain that there is no choice and that the quality of products is poor. We are taking some partial measures such as importing some things from socialist countries, we carry out a sort of exchange, we import some goods even from nonsocialist countries if we have hard currency at our disposal. But I must say that this gives us not the slightest right to speak about a radical improvement of the situation on the home market. We must begin to fulfill the plan regularly from the beginning of the year. Now the conditions have been created for this. What is necessary is to coordinate our work from the center and also from the economic accountability area. With any other policy we shall get nowhere. [end recording]

After the discussion, the deputies approved the draft of the state budget.

In the next part of the meeting, they promulgated the law of the Czech National Council about the work of veterinary care bodies, and heard the report about the activity of the Presidium in the last period.

After the end of the last meeting of this year, the Presidium of the Czech National Council met and promulgated the new laws.

Slovak National Council Meets in Bratislava

LD212323 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1130 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Excerpts] The Slovak National Council is meeting in Bratislava today. [passage omitted] Vilian Salgovic, chairman of the Slovak National Slovak, voiced council's full support to the stand adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak Government on the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles. Following up on the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee, he voiced thanks to Gustav Husak for the attention he devoted as general secretary of the party to the activity of the Slovak National Council. At the same time he wished many successes to the newly elected general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Milos Jakes.

Slovak Government on Economic Performance

LD200540 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1600 GMT 19 Dec 87

[Text] At its meeting today the Slovak Government assessed the implementation of the program to raise the economic effectiveness of the wages system in economic organizations in Slovakia. Experience shows that those enterprises that have already applied the second stage of the program, as a rule are implementing better planned tasks. The elimination of egalitarianism in remuneration has not, however, been progressing at an acceptable pace, especially due to the subjective reasons of not duly appreciating good quality workers and the unwillingness to tackle conflicts generated by cuts in wages resulting from poor performance.

The Slovak Government also discussed the promotion of the brigade team form of labor organization and remuneration, which after its expansion in 1985 and 1986 had contributed to the growth of the effectiveness in managing enterprises and to the intensification of workers' participation in management.

The Slovak Government also examined trends in overtime in individual sectors of the national economy in Slovakia during the past 2 years. It noted critically that many enterprises, plants and organizations have not been consistently implementing the steps previously adopted designed to reduce overtime.

Bohemia Committees Discuss Restructuring

LD200554 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1500 GMT 19 Dec 87

[Text] The CPCZ's South Bohemian Regional Committee discussed in Ceske Budejovice today the results of the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee, and preparations for the annual plenary meetings and party conferences next year.

Miroslav Slavik, chief secretary of the regional party committee, reported on results of the seventh Central Committee session, which has now concluded and was dedicated to speeding up economic and social development and comprehensive restructuring, and to deepening socialist democracy.

Mikulas Beno, party Central Committee secretary, stressed in the discussion that the communists' fighting spirit toward fulfilling the demanding tasks of restructuring, next year's plan, and the eighth 5-year plan must be reflected in the upcoming annual meetings and party conferences. He stated critically that a considerable part of the organizations have not yet been able to link the congress' line with the appropriate conclusions at workplaces, or to mobilize all the resources for the fulfillment of tasks. For this purpose, it is necessary to much more resolutely improve the style, methods, and forms of party work; to improve educational and cadre work and control; and to implement, above all, the Leninist principle that the party's policy is being implemented through the people's activity.

Jakes Receives Soviet Ambassador for Talks

*LD222250 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 22 Dec 87*

[Text] In Prague today Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received Viktor Lomakin, the Soviet ambassador in Czechoslovakia. In a cordial and friendly talk they discussed the topical tasks of the further development of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation.

Moscow Ambassador Meets Shevardnadze

*LD222349 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2030 GMT 22 Dec 87*

[Text] Eduard Shevardnadze, Politburo member of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet foreign minister, received today in Moscow Jindrich Rehorek, Czechoslovak ambassador in Moscow, at Rehorek's request. The ambassador informed him about the results of the December session of the CPCZ Central Committee, at which important decisions were adopted in connection with the consistent implementation of the orientation of the 17th congress of the party to speed up the socioeconomic development of the party, comprehensive restructuring and the deepening of the socialist democracy.

Eduard Shevardnadze exchanged views in the possibilities of further deepening of Soviet-Czechoslovak cooperation.

Chnoupek Returns from Warsaw Visit

*LD230921 Prague CTK in English
0821 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Prague Dec 23 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek today returned from an official two-day visit to Poland.

Johanes Holds Consultations in London

*AU181350 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
17 Dec 87 p 7*

[CTK report in the "From the World" column: "Czechoslovak-British Consultations"]

[Text] Jaromir Johanes, CSSR first deputy minister of foreign affairs, conferred with David Mellor, British minister of state for foreign affairs, in London yesterday within the framework of Czechoslovak-British interministerial consultations. They discussed current Czechoslovak-British relations and prospects of their further development and exchanged views on the most important issues of the current international situation.

CSSR, Vatican Delegations Hold Talks

*LD190531 Prague CTK in English
1928 GMT 18 Dec 87*

[Text] Rome Dec 18 (CTK)—Delegations of Czechoslovakia and Vatican held talks on issues of the Catholic church in Czechoslovakia here on December 15-17.

The Czechoslovak delegation was led by Vladimir Janku, deputy minister, director of the Czechoslovak Government secretariat for Ecclesiastical Affairs. The Vatican's delegation was headed by Francesco Colasuonno, the pope's special nuncio for Eastern Europe.

The talks, which were held in an atmosphere of goodwill, are to continue in the second half of January 1988 in Prague.

PRC Engineering Delegation Pays Visit

Received by Engineering Minister

*LD182106 Prague CTK in English
1456 GMT 18 Dec 87*

[Text] Prague Dec 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister of General Engineering Ladislav Luhovy received here today head of the Chinese delegation to the first session of the Czechoslovak-Chinese working group for cooperation in engineering Hong Fuyou.

Experts of the two countries met here for talks on the possibilities of Czechoslovakia's participation in the modernization and construction of engineering plants in China and on other questions concerning mutual cooperation.

Protocol Signed

*LD211406 Prague CTK in English
1314 GMT 21 Dec 87*

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CTK)—A protocol was signed here today at the conclusion of the first session of a Czechoslovak-Chinese group on engineering.

During their two-week stay in Czechoslovakia, the Chinese delegation and Czechoslovak representatives exchanged information on the organization and production programs of general and heavy engineering industries in their countries with a view to the possibilities of expanding cooperation. The session contributed to the opening of direct talks between production enterprises, organizations and research institutes in China and Czechoslovakia. Cooperation should develop mainly in the sphere of water pumps, water turbines, machine tools, building and mining machines for the Chinese coal industry.

CPCZ's Polednik Receives DPRK Delegation

LD211400 Prague CTK in English
1255 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CTK)—A party and government delegation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was received here today by Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Jindrich Polednik.

The delegation, led by Alternate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers Party Kye Ung-tae, arrived in Czechoslovakia last Saturday.

Jindrich Polednik informed the Korean guests of the program of restructuring the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia, the acceleration of the socio-economic development, the deepening of democracy and party work as regards the young generation.

The Korean guests spoke of the implementation of the 6th party congress resolutions, the tasks of their 3d seven-year plan and the preparations for the 13th World Youth and Students Festival to be held in DPRK in 1989.

International Student Head on Havana Talks

AU171035 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
15 Dec 87 p 6

[Interview with Josef Skala, chairman of the International Union of Students, by PRAVDA editor Martin Krno: "Discussion Instead of the Barriers of Distrust"—place and date not given]

[Excerpts] The supreme body of the worldwide organization representing academic youth—the 15th Congress of the International Union of Students (IUS)—convened in the capital of Cuba in the second half of November. Linked with this event was the world student conference, which followed the congress in Havana and which was held under the motto "Jointly, For a Better Future." After the conclusion of these two significant events, our editor Martin Krno asked the newly elected IUS chairman, Josef Skala, for an interview.

[Krno] During the recent period, the IUS aimed its activities at developing a dialogue with all democratic organizations of academic youth, striving to bring about unity of action in the students' movement in the defense of such values as peace, international security, and democracy. What results did the 15th IUS Congress and the Havana world student conference yield in this effort?

[Skala] Apart from about 100 of our own member organizations, they were attended by more than 140 other national, regional, and international student organizations. None of the ideological-political streams influencing the student movement were absent, except for the extreme right wing. The young representatives from Malta were the only ones from Western Europe to be absent. Even the largest mass unions of U.S. students attended. The frank and constructive discussion was unprecedented. It evaded none of the issues on which academic youth is focusing its interest. It concentrated most on issues at the center of our civilization's fatal dilemma: survival, further development, and progress—or collective destruction. [passage omitted]

[Krno] Are several influential West European student unions reassessing their stand toward the IUS? Is their return to the bosom of your organization being considered?

[Skala] We pursue neither compliments from those who only recently could not stomach us, nor any artificial increases in our membership. I say this with responsibility, that is heightened by the increasingly intensifying discussions with some of our member organizations. Because not all of them have already grasped the dialectics of class and overall human interests in our times. However, we have no right to risk a loss of trust among those, on whose progressive stands and solidarity we could count to date. All the more so, since these forces are working under reactionary dictatorships or other manifestations of terror against progressive forces. That is also why we must be far more careful in weighing every step on the road toward the victory of new political thinking.

I do not claim to be a prophet. But Western student leaders themselves appreciate the current democratism in our work, the effort to build the broadest possible coalition of common sense and social responsibility. They already said in Havana that they would weigh the possibilities of returning to the IUS. We will approach such steps as a broad democratic organization, and offer our hand to everybody that shares our concern and resolve to achieve the survival of mankind and the solution of its most burning problems.

[Krno] The IUS admitted 13 organizations as new members. How many members does the IUS now have, and in how many countries?

[Skala] The newly admitted unions of academic youth represent the "first-generation" student movement—for instance, in several countries in the Pacific area—as well as older organizations in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. They all form a rather colorful rainbow of world outlooks. Many other applicants are still waiting to be admitted, since we have not succeeded in achieving the necessary concurrence of views on this issue in the IUS.

Currently the IUS has 117 unions from 110 countries. It rallies almost 40 million students. The orientation toward having nationwide unions as members is an even more important demand, particularly today, when we are thinking in terms of the broadest unity of the IUS. At the same time, this is why, the Spanish student movement, for instance cannot yet return to the IUS. Despite its mass basis and progressive militant positions, as proved during the recent demonstrations, it has so far been unable to unify itself. We grant membership to several mass unions in a single country if the establishment of a nationwide organization is prevented by the policy of reactionary ruling circles.

[Krno] The Fourth IUS Congress was attended by a youth delegation from People's China. Do you expect to reestablish official contacts with Chinese university students and expect the PRC's youth organization to renew its membership in the IUS?

[Skala] Frankly, we have made greater progress in cooperating with student unions in other countries that had split from the movement represented by the IUS during the years of the so-called cultural revolution. A large number of them took an active and constructive part in our 15th congress and in the Asian-Pacific conference on its preparation. The IUS deputy chairman was recently received in Beijing—unofficially, but in a positive spirit. We regularly invite the Chinese student union (apropos, its last representative at IUS headquarters is a member of the inner circle of the party leadership) to our events. When everything will land in its natural place is certainly a question of time. The 13th World Festival of Youth and Students is sure to help in this respect. [passage omitted]

Honecker Receives FRG Communist Party Leader

LD211812 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, today received DKP Chairman Herbert Mies in the SED Central Committee building.

In the meeting, which was held in the spirit of the traditional, fraternal solidarity between the SED and the DKP, Erich Honecker and Herbert Mies paid tribute to the results of the summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan as a significant success for all forces of reason and realism over the most aggressive circles of imperialism which continue to set their hopes on arming and confrontation.

The treaty on the removal of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles is a historic milestone on the way toward a nuclear-free world and an encouraging starting point for achieving more far-reaching steps on disarmament.

Erich Honecker reported on the meeting of the leading representatives of the Warsaw Pact member states in Berlin on 11 December 1987.

The GDR will continue to contribute to disarmament, detente, and the extension of peaceful cooperation in Europe and between the two German states with a variety of initiatives in accordance with the peace strategy resolved by the 11th SED Congress. In this context he recalled that the SED, in view of the start of the deployment of new U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe at the end of 1983, called for a struggle for peace at that time in particular, holding political dialogue and working for the broadest coalition of all forces of peace, reason, and realism. This encouraged many to act. With the agreed destruction of two categories of missiles a dangerous escalation of nuclear confrontation in Europe has been stopped, and the disappeance once more of the nuclear work of the devil from German soil has been achieved.

Together with its allies the GDR resolutely supports progressing from zero option to zero option in accordance with the principle of equality and equal security, the creation of a comprehensive system of international security, and the continued deepening of trusting and fruitful cooperation between states of differing social orders in the spirit of peaceful coexistence. The GDR sees its particular responsibility in working for war never again emanating from German soil, only peace.

Erich Honecker continued that during his recent official visit to the FRG the reality of two independent, sovereign German states was clearly reasserted to the whole world, and agreement was achieved to the effect that the GDR and the FRG actively support a policy of securing peace and reducing tensions, as well as the continuation of dialogue and cooperation. This marks changes of historical dimensions.

The will expressed by the two sides in the "joint communique" to support the setting into motion of further specific and verifiable arms control and disarmament processes has gained in topicality since the Reagan-Gorbachev summit and demands specific actions. In particular this concerns the 50-percent reduction in offensive weapons, the strengthening of the ABM Treaty, the achievement of a nuclear test ban, and measures for reducing nuclear, chemical and conventional arms and armaments.

Henceforth the public quite rightly expects a constructive response from the FRG Government to the joint initiatives by the SED, the CPCZ, and the SPD on the creation of a chemical weapon-free zone and a nuclear free corridor in Europe.

The general secretary of the SED Central Committee stressed that the GDR is ready to continue the constructive exchange of opinions on all these issues and the search for solutions which infringe no one's security and which serve cooperation on equal terms. The preparation of an international meeting in 1988 has been started in the GDR in this spirit. Important political representatives who support the creation of nuclear free zones have been invited to this.

Erich Honecker considers it very significant that communists and social democrats are finding a common language and cooperation despite all political and ideological differences on the issue of war or peace. The joint documents of the SED and the SPD, "The battle of the ideologies and joint security," point to viable paths along which joint interests can be taken advantage of and existing conflicts managed in a way that serves and does not harm cooperation.

Erich Honecker briefed his guest on the results of the fifth meeting of the SED Central Committee. In accordance with the resolutions of the 11th party congress on the further shaping of the developed socialist society the SED is committedly maintaining the course of dynamic economic growth, the unity of economic and social policy, the further development of socialist democracy and political stability. By the mass competition with the slogan "My workplace—my battle station for peace," working people are declaring that they have made this policy a cause of their own and, firmly allied with the party of the working class, are using their strength to consolidate socialism and thus make peace more secure.

Thus the socialist state on German soil proves its capability of doing justice to the requirements of the age in the interests of people. While the consequences of the scientific and technical revolution threaten working people in capitalist countries, rob them of their jobs and cast them into poverty and hopelessness, modern science and technology in the GDR go hand in hand with social security and social progress. The human rights to work and social security, to free education and training to free medical treatment are also among the marvellous achievements of socialism, is their right to have a say and to help run the state, the factories, and all social areas.

DKP Chairman Herbert Mies reported on his party's activities for fulfilling the resolutions of the eighth party congress. The DKP sees its decisive task of the moment in making the Federal Republic, which is still heavily armed, into a factor for peace, disarmament, and peaceful coexistence in Europe.

The treaty betwen the USSR and the United States on the removal of their medium- and shorter-range missiles and the fact that the Federal Government has had to clear the way for this treaty, are at the same time a great political success in the fight of the broad peace movement in the FRG against the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. This is not only a great relief to people but also increases faith in their own strength to achieve more steps on disarmament by campaigns, publicity, and independent contributions by the FRG Government.

A new impetus for this is constantly emanating from the comprehensive peace program of the community of socialist states for a nuclear-free world and from the constructive peace initiatives by the Soviet Union, the GDR, and the other socalist countries.

Herbert Mies paid tribute to the successful work of the SED and Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker for peace and disarmament, for dialogue and cooperation between all forces of realism and reason.

The immense importance for the peace and security of Europe of the existence of a socialist German state has been shown again to the whole world, and in a particularly impressive way by the results of the official visit to the FRG by Erich Honecker. Just as determinedly as the DKP has always supported the full recognition of the GDR under international law and normal, treaty based relations between the two German states, so it will work for the strict implementation by the FRG Government of the agreements set down in the "joint communique" on disarmament, detente, and peaceful cooperation.

Herbert Mies thanked Erich Honecker for his detailed report on the SED's economic strategy and the mastering of the scientific-technological revolution. In the socialist GDR the DKP principle to the effect that technological progress must serve the working man and social progress is a practical reality. This fact is being recognized increasingly in the FRG workers' movement, in view of the growing mass unemployment, the threatened destruction of industrial bases such as Rheinhausen and Hattingen, of social welfare cutbacks, and growing new poverty. It is also being recognized by those who admittedly are not today committed to a socialist social order but who favor democratic alternatives to the strategies of big business.

As in the question of peace, real socialism is becoming more attractive in this sphere also. The DKP, which is doing its part in the struggles of the workers and other democratic forces for labor, democracy, and social progress, welcomes and for this reason promotes the dialogue which has begun between Social Democrats and trade unions of the FRG and the GDR on questions of the future of labor, of the controlling of the technological revolution, and other global issues. The traditional fraternal relations between the DKP and the SED are a great help and support in this.

Herbert Mies spoke of the preparations for Ninth DKP Congress, which is to take place 6-8 January 1989 in Frankfurt-am-Main, and invited a delegation of the SED Central Committee to attend it.

The meeting was attended on the SED side by members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee Hermann Axen, Egon Krenz, and Guenter Mittag, as well as by Gunter Rettner, candidate member of the SED Central Committee and director of a Central Committee department.

On the DKP side Deputy Chairman Ellen Weber and members of the Presidium and Secretariat of the party executive Kurt Fritsch, Rolf Priemer, and Karl-Heinz Schroeder, were also present.

Soviet Envoy Chairs Soviet-GDR Commission

LD212141 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN)—A meeting of the joint German-Soviet Commission was held today in Berlin, capital of the GDR. Vyacheslav Kochemasov, Soviet ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, chaired the meeting. The GDR side was led by Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The meeting, which was held in an atmosphere of full agreement and in the spirit of unshakable fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, discussed matters of bilateral interest and adopted the relevant decisions.

Mittag Receives CPSU Study Delegation

AU220943 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19-20 Dec 87 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, on Friday [18 December] received a study delegation from the CPSU Central Committee headed by Lev Kuznetsov, deputy director of the Heavy Industry and Power Engineering Department.

Guenter Mittag explained the efforts made since the 11th party congress aimed at implementing the party's economic strategy. This includes ensuring performance increase on the basis of increased labor productivity while at the same time reducing the specific energy and material consumption. The utilization of scientific-technological findings, particularly the application of microelectronics, and the use of upgrading methods are decisive for this. In this way the preconditions for the further continuation of the proven course of the unity of social and economic policy on the basis of a steady economic growth are created. By setting clear tasks in the plan, everything is stipulated for the entire national economy, for the enterprises and combines, and for all areas, Guenter Mittag pointed out. This is also the starting point for a comprehensive mass initiative. Particularly at this time, the communists and working people of the GDR consider the economic strengthening of the GDR through high achievements as particularly important so that—on the basis of what has been achieved through the agreement of the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their medium-range missiles—they can further press for this disarmament process to be continued.

Lev Kuznetsov pointed out that the experiences with regard to the economical use of energy and raw materials studied during the delegation's stay in Berlin, Potsdam, and Cottbus are of great value. It is one of the important targets of the 27th CPSU Congress to utilize the existing resources in an efficient manner, he explained.

The interlocutors paid tribute to the long-standing fruitful cooperation between the GDR and the USSR aimed at expanding the energy and raw material basis of both countries. Scientific-technological cooperation directed toward developing energy and material-saving methods is gaining increasing significance. The agreements reached by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in May 1987 are the basis for this.

The talk held in a cordial atmosphere was attended by Horst Wambutt, director of the SED Central Committee Basic Materials Industry Department, and Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR.

GDR Signs Contract To Import Soviet Oil

LD221811 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1558 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow 22 Dec (ADN)—In Moscow today, Dr Werher Forhn, general director of the Schwedit petrochemical combine, Vladimir A. Arutyunyan of the Soviet foreign trade organization Soyuznefteksport, agreed on the importation of 17,1 million tonnes of oil from the USSR in 1988.

The contract was signed on the basis of the existing protocol between the GDR and the USSR on mutual supplies of goods and services in 1988.

Stoph, Romania's Oprea Discuss Cooperation

LD212026 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1912 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN)—The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, received the first vice premier of Romania, Gheorghe Oprea, for a talk on Monday.

The two sides noted that the first positive results have been obtained in the implementation of the agreements reached at the highest level on the occasion of the official friendly visit by Erich Honecker to Bucharest in October of this year. The main focus of the work was the broadening and deepening of specialization and cooperation in research and production.

During the discussion, the importance was stressed of the agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the removal of nuclear medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. This agreement is to be seen as the first historic step on the path to a nuclear-free world. At the same time it is important to use the better preconditions arising from this for the expansion of disarmament into other fields.

Oprea is in Berlin as chairman of the Joint Government Commission for economic cooperation for talks with the SED Politburo Member Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers. The focus of the working meeting, which began on the same day, is specialization and cooperation in production for the period 1991-1995, as well as scientific-technological cooperation.

Kleiber, Oprea Confer

LD222105 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1416 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 22 Dec (ADN)—Guenther Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Gheorge Oprea, member of the political executive committee of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of Romania, held working meetings yesterday and today.

At the center of the talks, which were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, was the fulfillment of agreements between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary and Romanian president, on broadening and deepening economic relations, which were laid down during their meeting in October, 1987.

As chairmen of the joint governmental commission for economic cooperation between the GDR and Romania, Guenter Kleiber and Gheorghe Oprea agreed on further measures to solve the tasks laid down.

One area of emphasis was the continuation and further extension of specialization and cooperation in research and production in areas that are of particular significance for increasing the efficiency of both national economies. In scientific and technical cooperation there is an increasing orientation toward tasks that aim to modernize the products of cooperation and specialization and the development of new, highly technical machines, equipment, apparatus, and processes.

During the talks, both parties expressed their deep satisfaction at and unreserved approval of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the removal of medium-range missiles. They agreed that the preconditions for further far-reaching disarmament steps were thereby significantly improved.

Mittag, Austria's Streicher Discuss Trade

LD222148 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1325 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 22 Dec (ADN)—Dr Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, today received Dr. Rudolf Streicher, Austrian minister of transportation and nationalized industries.

Minister Streicher conveyed greetings from Chancellor Dr. Franz Vranitzky and asked Guenter Mittag to convey these to SED General Secretary Erich Honecker.

The parties expressed their harmonious positions on disarmament and the removal of medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe, and paid tribute to the treaty concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Guenter Mittag pointed out that the results from Washington were a gain for peace and the security of the peoples. They point to the future and mark out a path that leads away from the arms race toward disarmament and detente.

During the meeting, Guenter Mittag underlined that the national economic plan decided on for 1988 guarantees the GDR's stable and dynamic economic and political development.

Both parties positively assessed the state of and future prospects for relations as a whole between the GDR and Austria, within the framework of which economic relations enjoy a particular position.

Minister Dr. Streicher said the talks held this August in Salzburg with Chancellor Vranitzky and the agreement concluded between both countries for further development of economic relations in 1988 brought about further impetus and lively trade.

Minister Streicher told his host that many Austrian firms will exhibit again at the Leipzig Spring Fair.

Taking part in the talks was Foreign Trade Minister Dr. Gerhard Beil.

Aurich Receives FRG Marxist Youth Delegation

LD212225 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1436 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN)—The first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, Eberhard Aurich, on Monday received the secretariat of the Spartacus Marxist Youth League, led by its federal chairman, Thomas Riecke, for a friendly talk.

Eberhard Aurich informed the guests from the FRG on the initiatives of the young people of the GDR for the fulfilment of the decisions of the 11th Party SED Congress. Both sides concurred in welcoming the results of the summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan as an encouraging step toward a nuclear weapon-free millenium. Now what matters is to intensify the struggle within the international peace movement for a consistent continuation of the initiated process of disarmament and detente.

In the international youth and student movement, the FDJ is in favor of creating a coalition against nuclear weapons. The preparation for the 13th world festival in Pyongyang is of particular importance in this respect.

Thomas Riecke explained the activities of the student movement in the FRG and said that the contribution of the Spartacus Marxist Youth League in the struggle for the basic democratic rights of young people studying in the FRG, as expressed in the demonstration on 28 November 1987, is indispensible for the debate on the anti-youth policy in the FRG.

The Spartacus League is absolutely against elitist education concepts and cutting expenditure in the educational sphere at the universities. In the international student movement, the league will intensify its efforts in the solution of global problems which threaten all of mankind, and will actively contribute to anti-imperialist solidarity with the peoples of Nicaragua and South Africa.

Tisch Speaks at FDGB Committee Meeting

LD212203 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1511 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Dec (ADN)—Representatives of the more than 9.5 million GDR trade unionists today decided on their competition targets for the coming year. All working people were urged to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks of the 1988 national economic plan ddaily in consistent fashion and produce the required products and range of goods and to meet their contracts.

A decision adopted by the National Executive Committee of the FDGB at its fourth meeting in Berlin calls for the creation by qualified managerial work of all the conditions for every working person to be able to do his best for the realisation of these projects.

"The content of the 1988 national economic plan is determined by the basic values of life in socialism—by social security and work and education for all," said Horst Heintze, member of the Presidium and secretary of the National Executive Committee. This is why the plan corresponded to the interests of the trade unionists and why they regard it as a work program. The competition is a political action by the working class and all working people and is also an expression of living socialist democracy.

In all trade union groups there should be a thorough discussion about which commitments the working people can undertake for this, Heintze said. After this, the meetings of trade union members or meetings of shop stewards are to decide on the targets of the enterprises and institutions by 15 January. Heintze announced that within the framework of the 5.1 million holiday trips planned by the FDGB and the enterprises there would be an increase of 12,000 in the number of holidays where families with two children can enjoy a joint vacation.

In the ensuing discussion working people reported on initiatives by their work teams for plan fulfillment this year and for preparation for a good start to production in 1988.

In his winding-up speech, SED Politburo member Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Committee, said that the successes that are now visible with the first nuclear disarmament treaty confirm that high performances for the strengthening of socialism are worthwhile and demonstrably effective.

We speak of the plan as a trade union battle plan because it continues the unity of economic and social policy and sets goals which require the development of an effective mass initiative, Tisch said. The competition must lead to high growth rates in labor productivity and equally to a lowering of production input.

Trade union responsibility also consists in, together with the managers, ensuring that all developments in performance continue to be linked with the improvement of material working conditions.

Court Rejects Appeal of Convicted Nazi

LD222223 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1704 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 22 Dec (ADN)—In proceedings on 21 and 22 December the First Criminal Bench of the Supreme Court rejected as unjustified the appeal by the former Gestapo superintendant and SS First Lieutenant Henry Schmidt against the verdict of the Dresden area court on 28 September 1987. The sentence of life imprisonment with permanent deprivation of civil rights thus becomes final.

The criminal bench found that the crimes of the accused had been proven by the area court and that his guilt merited the severe sentence, imposed for his active and intensive collaboration in the fascist policy of extermination of the Jewish population of Dresden and its vicinity.

The decision, which also shows that crimes against humanity do not fall under the statute of limitations, follows the dictate of international law that in the interests of the existence and the peaceful coexistence of the people such crimes must be rigorously prosecuted.

Borics Discusses Legislation, Assembly Role

LD171906 Budapest MTI in English
1510 GMT 17 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—As reported, the debate on the legislation and the settlement of statutory provisions issued before 1960 started on the second day of the winter session of Parliament. In his report Gyula Borics, state secretary of the Ministry of Justice, pointed out that the legislative function of the parliament has been invigorated over the past five years, the role of the Parliament commissions in bill preparations increased, and legislation has increasingly sought to meet political, social, and economic requirements. Despite indisputable development, the 4 to 5 per cent increase in the number of legal regulations is higher than desirable—in 1986 there were 5,529 statutory provisions in force. The number of decrees has increased in particular. Though the number of laws is also on the increase they are a lesser factor in jurisdiction than would be desirable. In 1986 their number stood at 146. Legislation has become increasingly intricate, and over-regulation is largely due to attitudes. Social and economic problems are often tackled by means of legal regulations even if other means are needed. Instead of the termination of the causes of law violation, prohibitive and penal administrative measures are taken.

The clear and uniform systematization of legal rules issued by legal bodies will be indispensable in future. In addition, preparatory work has to further explore the existing conditions in the fields to be regulated, and better reconcile interests. The presented bill is designed to tackle these problems. By systematizing the statutory provisions the proposal determines the scope of the legislative bodies and that of the rules subject to their authority on the basis of principle, which means that statuatory provisions can only be issued as a mandatory rule by a state body invested by legislative authority by parliament.

It follows that statutory provisions can be issued solely by the parliament, the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers and its members, state secretaries in charge of national authorities, and the councils. Any other means of state administration would be binding for limited scope and under certain conditions. This would halt the situation where ministers and heads of national authorities can issue rules binding to bodies that are not directly affiliated to them.

Gyula Borics recalled that the legislative activity of the Presidential Council was also under examination. Over the past decades this body has often substituted the National Assembly in its legislative function, especially in law-amendment. In the course of time the law decree of Presidential Council have become the established form of law amendment, but this practice has not been endorsed. The Legal Commission of parliament proposed that the law on legislation stipulate that the Presidential Council cannot issue law decrees in topics belonging to the authority of Parliament. It follows that it cannot amend or supersede the related laws approved by the parliament. As this measure restricts the constitutional substituting function of the Presidential Council, it necessitates an amendment of the constitution.

The deputy presenting the bill proposed that the wording of the amendment of constitution should run: 'As long as the National Assembly is not in session, its function of jurisdiction is exercised by the Presidential Council, which, however, may not amend the Constitution and may not issue a law decree in the authority of parliament.'

The bill stipulates that citizens, directly or through their deputies, participate in the preparatory work and the elaboration of regulations. It also stipulates that social and representative bodies be involved in the preparation of legal provisions that concern those they are representing. The bill regulates the basic rules related to social debates. Accordingly legislative bodies have to be informed on the proposals made in the course of social debate.

Gyula Borics emphasized that the law will exert an influence on the work of bodies of administration, the methods of state control, and may contribute to their improvement.

The state secretary also presented the bill on the settlement of statutory provisions issued before 1960.

The bill invalidates the laws and law decrees which were of great significance at the time they were passed but have now become outdated because of the transformation of social relations and jurisdiction.

Official on 'Deteriorating' Public Mood

AU221057 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 14 Dec 1987 p 3

[Interview with Gyorgy Lanyi, deputy chairman of the Agitprop Commission of the MSZMP Central Committee, by Ervin Tamas: "Convincing Exchanges of Opinion Are Required—Interview with Gyorgy Lanyi, Deputy Chairman of an MSZMP Central Committee Commission;" place and date not given]

[Text] Expectation and uncertainty, readiness for action and paralyzing pessimism, living for the moment and worrying about the future, a deteriorating public mood and encouraging intentions to act—these words taken from reports on the public mood that are being prepared by our party organizations could, if you like, be used as headlines. It is true that the major part of the news describes our mood and it is certain that in 1988 we will hardly be able to talk about preserving our standard of living. However, the structure of the public mood is much too complex for a single adjective to describe it. Therefore, this is the concept that we will first try to explore with Gyorgy Lanyi.

The Nature of Anxiety [subhead]

[Tamas] Many people think that the public mood is worse than is justified by the actual situation. Others reply that it would be better for us not to delude ourselves with such ideas. In your opinion, which approach is right?

[Lanyi] Mood cannot be measured and it has no accurate indicators, but the former opinion seems to be correct. Public opinion, however, also generates itself to a certain extent. Occasionally we ourselves participate in this process; we write and industriously spread the word that tension, uncertainty, and lack of trust can be felt, and our reports probably have an effect on people who so far have not had such a grim picture of the situation. Obviously, the roots for this are to be found in our objective reality. People sense relatively accurately that the economic conditions in which we are now living are considerably more difficult than conditions even 10 years ago, and they also hear this in various leaders' statements. Then, when there is no agreement between these statements, people become increasingly uncertain, because even higher instances cannot arrive at a uniform evaluation. A situation that they thought was bad is probably even worse. In addition, mood is affected by many everyday trivialities, ranging from lack of goods to the way one is treated in offices. Everybody has stories which he can offer in reply to another person's discontent. It is not customary to talk about doing better in business or weathering price increase by accepting a second job. The public mood is always affected rather by people who really do find it increasingly difficult to make a living. Anxiety, however, feeds not only on known but also on unknown facts, because it inevitably follows any kinds of uncertainty. Most people try to find certainty and avoid the unforeseeable.

[Tamas] Do you think that our bad mood is a kind of escape?

[Lanyi] It is fashionable to complain. Our logic often tells us that we would be better off if we were a little more pessimistic, because in this way we cannot be so deeply frustrated. Apart from this, I am far from claiming that the bad mood is only a fashion. Nevertheless, it is a statistical fact that, despite all our intentions, consumption has grown somewhat in recent years, even though not in a uniform manner; similarly, despite the central will, production has stagnated. Therefore the current regulations—and also price regulations—have been calculable, clearly stated measures.

[Tamas] Did the people's mood react to these?

[Lanyi] Yes, but not in a uniform manner by far. On the one hand, people welcomed honesty, determination, and the will to institute changes; on the other hand—obviously—they were and still are afraid of the deterioration of their own conditions. The people as a whole respect the government's new style, but as individuals they have reservations about the measures to be implemented. People like order, a relatively accurate definition of their obligations and rights, and a precise outline and fulfillment of tasks; but when the implementation of these measures actually affects them, everybody cries out: "Why Me?"

A Balance of Interests [subhead]

[Tamas] What can Agitprop activity do in this situation?

[Lanyi] One's perception is determined mainly by the conditions in which one lives. We should realize that nothing will change if we blame people for being selfish or thinking improperly. In this case, we would not even be fair. Nor do I believe that more comprehensive information alone would put everything in order. However, we should do a lot more than before to make people weigh their own various types of interests. Currently it looks as through everybody is concentrating excessively on their short-term interests without caring about the future, whereas it is reasonable to believe that even the shrewdest people will be unable to carry out their plans under deteriorating general conditions, because the environment itself will not permit this. Nobody expects people to become ascetic all at once and to give up their personal ambitions. People are expected only to try and achieve some kind of balance between their own interests and the public interest.

[Tamas] However, our propaganda also still owes us a specific picture of the future.

[Lanyi] We have never claimed that people should live for the moment, but at a certain point we started to talk less about the future. When I try to find the reason for this, I think that we made a mistake in handling the future as a series of pictures—each painted point by point. When the details of the picture became weak, we gave up the whole system, instead of submitting to the people a sketch that is forcefully outlined, a sketch that can be true, even when we cannot foresee the situation accurately.

By now, talking more about the socialist future has become an almost general requirement. In the course of these exchanges of political ideas, nobody can claim that he is the keeper of the philosophers' stone. Only together, through mutual compromises and the establishment of some kind of consensus, will it be possible to outline a picture of the future that can be accepted by society, a picture which will merit our acceptance of sacrifices, our efforts, and strengthen our faith in the future and in our own success.

[Tamas] Our lack of certainty can be partially explained by the "frequency" of the changes that have occurred, because signs that have been considered constant are currently disappearing or being moved somewhere else, and classifications and values are being modified, whereas our society has hardly been accustomed to such changes.

[Lanyi] Changes have to reach a critical mass in order to be noticed and felt. Certainly, it is difficult for a society living in an environment with relatively constant values to bear this critical mass of changes. When the material in the clothing that we are wearing starts to get frayed, we feel as if the entire piece of clothing is coming undone—which, of course, is not the case. I do not like the word "challenge," but in the course of development it becomes clear that certain values no longer exist and that we need new explanations for certain phenomena, that is, we have to react and respond to the challenges that we encounter. For a long time we have believed that our ideology is such an interrelated system that, if we alter one of its parts, the functioning of the entire system and its ideological system will suffer. For ideology to remain a unified system, conformity should also be established within the framework of this system; this is the stand formulated by the November session of the MSZMP Central Committee. It is true that many people think it pointless to worry about ideology when our economy is in trouble. However, although most people do not think in abstract terms, they immediately discover the contradictions between publicized opinions and reality, and thus there can be no order in our economy as long as there is no order in our minds. There Are No Prefabricated Reasons [subhead]

[Tamas] Some people say that the public clash of increasingly conflicting opinions, democracy in the process of development, and the publicity given to the preparation of decisions obstruct the creation of order. A stricter guideline would be more suitable to make people realize that the situation is serious and that collective efforts are required.

[Lanyi] I think that there are no uniform attitudes in this respect, either. Indeed, many people think that the crisis can be overcome only by employing stricter measures, carried out by the centralized authority, and by updating old methods, and that the time for a change of style and for political reform has not yet come at all. Other people are convinced of precisely the opposite, and say with conviction that only the latter road is the one we should take, and fear the possibility that the deteriorating economic situation might force the leaders to implement solutions that strengthen central control. In my opinion, these two kinds of anxiety currently coexist in society, although for 31 years already the party has been consistent in this respect in speaking of sensitivity on two fronts—that it will yield neither to increasing rigidity, nor to anarchy. It is interesting to mention that, while we are happy that people have become more educated, better informed, and more sovereign, we are still surprised that public thinking has become more varied and that answers to certain questions cannot be uniform and cannot follow the same pattern. Certainly, opinions also existed formerly, but these could not be expressed and had to adjust to the existing conditions. Indeed, one's personal interest forced one to adjust fully to the prevailing conditions. I think that a society in which differing points of view can emerge and interests can be articulated is a healthier society, though it is true that under these conditions it is more difficult to establish the necessary agreement for common action, and primarily this requires other methods.

[Tamas] Did our agitation and mass-propaganda acknowledge this?

[Lanyi] At present we are in an interim situation where everybody experiences his own ideological emancipation, even though neither the political nor the private sphere are capable of really handling differences and variety. A democratic process is coming of age, a process in which we acknowledge that nobody can be convinced by force or by a louder voice, and that we have to search for human, logical, psychological, and—naturally—rational keys to make others accept our opinions. According to some people, we should have waited with our development of democracy until this behavior became more dominant; however, in undemocratic conditions we can hardly count on the emergence of a patient and tolerant atmosphere.

The fact that we welcome the entrepreneurial spirit but object to the accelerated differentiation of property is a characteristic of our split awareness. We think that it is correct to publicize expected measures—which are still in the process of being formulated precisely because different opinions are asserted—yet we think that if those measures are changed, then this is a sign of softness and inconsistency. There are some phenomena that propaganda cannot explain; there are tensions that should be taken into consideration, tensions for which there is no recipe, no reason.

[Lanyi] But this recognition causes problems only to those people that consider agitation to be an almighty power that is able to turn public thinking in the desirable direction on its own. Introducing a "glorious" thought to the so-called masses from a kind of outsider is currently not enough; we should develop certain recognitions and realizations together with them; that is, we have to become part of a mechanism that is almost not agitation. Party workers can be catalysts of thought among other people; they can affect others and be affected by them; and unity is created in this process, a unity which eventually becomes action. The period of slogans and formulas that have been polished in advance is over. There is a need for constant communication and intellectual presence; but it is difficult to express the nature of this requirement in formulas.

I admit that more thorough and analytical information is essential in order to achieve this; we should acquaint the members of basic party organizations much more than previously with the work done at political workshops.

However, together with knowledge of facts, events, and intentions, we cannot repeatedly offer prefabricated reasons because some of these reasons can crystallize only in the heat of discussions, namely, in the environment in which they are brought up. Whatever can be used in a discussion can become an argument. If only for this reason alone, we cannot accompany information with a "central package of reasons" that will be immediately by every community. Information is the most that we can give.

More Effective Stand [subhead]

[Tamas] This also means that party workers should learn to use the ammunition of their own knowledge more effectively and to represent the policy they voluntarily advocate more independently or, if you like, more consciously. [Lanyi] I will further add that they should do so more professionally than hitherto. Speeches should be well composed and one should know how to convince people who will no longer endure 3 or 4 hours of long, unenjoyable speeches that are read from notes. The desire to hold discussions can also be encouraged only by being prepared. In the same way, everybody should also develop himself as a lecturer who is a force and a factor that is capable of affecting the community. Every party secretary in the basic organization should know that he will have 5-10 minutes to win the people over to his cause. To be able to do this, the style and methods used by agitation work headquarters should also change. There is nothing improper in trying, for example, to predict the public mood and to time our actions so that we appear before the public when it is most receptive to the matter on hand. We should both understand and make it understood that the current difficulties can hardly be solved individually. Only work that is well organized on a societal scale can lead us to further development. If, however, only small "private shelters" are established in society and everybody makes preparations for individual defense, this will further deteriorate our conditions. The road out of the difficulties can only be a road that is accepted collectively.

'Favorable Changes' in Industrial Performance

AU211143 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian
16 Dec 87 p 1

[MTI report: Industrial Production Has Changed Favorably—Production of Chemical Industry Products Has Increased—More Exports of Medicines and Telecommunication Industry Goods"]

[Text] During the first 11 months of this year, and as the result of considerable efforts, favorable changes can be observed in industrial production and sales. In several areas, the performance of the industry has reached or exceeded the level set out in the people's economy plan.

According to the Ministry of Industry's interim report, production up to December 1987 increased by 3.7 percent instead of the 2 percent increase planned for the entire year; consequently, this branch of the people's economy has reached the most dynamic production increase of the 1980's so far. Although the dynamics of the increase has been curbed because of the December holidays, it is believed that also the total annual production growth will also exceed 3 percent. In the individual branches, the production of chemical industry products in particular increased at a significant rate, by 7.3 percent, but the development in the electrical energy industry, machine production, and light industry was also greater than average.

Enterprises have exported the majority of the industrial surplus products. Exports to the socialist markets increased in proportion to the imports and by a somewhat larger extent, by about 1.6 percent. In comparison to 1986, industrial imports from the socialist countries did not increase. Industrial exports accounted in convertible currencies grew considerably; so far they are 14.7 percent higher than at the same time in 1986. The planned extent of growth was 5.7 percent. Mainly light industry, chemical industry, and metallurgical enterprises have reached outstanding exports results during the 11 months of 1987. Within exports, vehicles, information and vacuum-technology goods, rubber industry products, and medicines were dominant, but enterprises exported also more furniture, wool clothing, and haberdashery. Together with the consignments of the year's end, industry's exports accounted in convertible currencies are expected to reach $3 billion. Imports accounted in convertible currencies increased by more than 7 percent. The entirety of the industry's foreign trade balance accounted in convertible currencies improved by about $100 million, but the balance is still in deficit.

During the year, the domestic supply of industrial goods was generally balanced, and the industry supplied trade with 3 percent more consumer goods than in 1986. The large procurement that was observed in the recent months caused shortages in many areas, especially in furniture and telecommunication industry articles; producers are making very great efforts to provide supplementary shipments to improve supplies for Christmas.

The income producing capability of the industry has also improved this year; in addition to better enterprises management, this was also due to the fact that significant results have been accomplished in material and energy savings. Energy consumption, for example, decreased by 3 percent despite the increase in industrial production. Productivity has improved by almost 6 percent within a year although personnel reduction was stronger than planned; this is another positive result.

National Planning Official Head Interviewed

LD192224 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Dec 87

[From the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Will anything change simply because the National Planning Office has a new chairman? Janos

Hoos is interviewed by Henrik Havas. [Havas] Is it possible to plan the construction of the market? Would it not be better to let it manifest itself?

[Hoos] The construction of the market can be planned, but once the market has been planned and is functioning, it must indeed be left to function. This is because a market is a market precisely when it has significant scope of action.

[Havas] Distribution is one of the most important planning tasks. However, even Marxist social scientists acknowledge by now that distribution is a question of power. In other words, it is often a consequence of political decisions. How much independence will the planning specialists enjoy in the Grosz government?

[Hoos] Governing is teamwork and, precisely as a consequence of its team work character, planning must be carried out as a collective activity, and this also means that the interest representational organizations affected must also be involved in the planning process and the shared interests must be developed inside the government, and the government must find consensus, at least as regards the fundamental questions, with society's various interest groups.

Naturally, in the current situation it must be seen that it is impossible to develop a rational plan, an economic policy line in accord with the interests of the country, in agreement with everyone, because obviously certain interests must be given priority and others must temporarily take second place.

[Havas] The political sphere determines the roles, and it is the planners' task to find the resources. It seems to me that in the next few years the obvious ways of obtaining resources wiil be to make use of foreign credits and to hold back consumption at home. But how long can we go on doing this?

[Hoos] Making use of foreign loans is something that must increasingly be reduced, and more and more we will have to rely on our own resources. In other words, we must make better use of our own possibilities and reserves.

[Havas] Are there still such reserves?

[Hoos] Well, the reserves are quite considerable, and it must be said that the economy provides a fairly significant surplus even now. The problem is that the overwhelming bulk of the surplus must be devoted to reducing the rate of growth of the debt, and thus we cannot utilize it in our domestic economy. For example, the plan for 1988 envisages a growth of almost 1 and 1 half percent, while it reduces domestic consumption, precisely because we are forced to do this in order to reduce the rate of growth of the debt. This was the characteristic trend in 1987 as well. Thus, what is involved here is not that the economy does not produce a surplus but, rather, that as a result of the indebtedness of the past decade, we are in a situation where the burden of the debt, the payment of interest and making repayments, use up the surplus.

Health Affairs Minister Discusses Policies

LD192243 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 19 Dec 87

[Interview with Judit Csehak, recently named minister for health affairs and social policy; by unidentified correspondents on the "168 Hours" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Judit Csehak will be able to deal with social policy and health affairs together, following the creation of the new ministry.

[Unidentified reporter] I do not know if I can congratulate you, for from deputy premier you have become a minister, but at the same time I must congratulate you. As the one time head physician in Szekszard, you reached the top of your profession, and have become a minister.

[Csehak] In all my posts and official functions, it has always been the task which interested me, more or less independently from the rank, and the rank only inasmuch as it was a precondition of fulfilling the task. I am very interested in health affairs and social policy, and I consider the rank of minister to be sufficient for me to fulfill this task. So, to reply to your question, I would like you to congratulate me.

[Reporter] But, at the end of 1987, to be minister for health affairs and social policy, to undertake this appointment, seems a very thankless task. We stand before a very hard year, and have even harder years ahead of us.

[Csehak] Undoubtedly so. When answering questions earlier, I said that the bridegroom is very attractive, but my dowry really is very small. It is due to this, more than anything, that I feel ambivalence to the task. At the same time, I think, and maybe this could be called overconfidence or even conceit, that there is a real need for people with professional knowledge and organizational ability capable of creating order and making contacts, when we are living in hard times.

[Reporter] The situation is quite strange. You are, as a member of the Politburo, also a politician. Your predecessors spoke about the extremely bad statistics, the mortality rate of working-age people, and so on, then they said that this is almost no longer a health affairs matter, but is a social task. Is there any significance in the fact that a politician is now heading this portfolio?

[Csehak] I would go further. I think it is particularly significant that a person dealing with social policy, health matters, has gotten into the Politburo.

[Reporter] When I heard the news of the formation of this united ministry, which links health affairs and social policy, it ocurred to me that social policy was extremely fragmented. Everyone had his own social policy conception, all the branches, trade unions, and ministries. It is good that this is all being united. At the same time, there is the demand that the state, which up to now concerned itself with its citizens in a paternalistic way, and, let us admit it, operated health affairs in a centralized, monopolistic way, should hand over these tasks to the individual, to individual groups of citizens. They could deal with this in a kind of self-help way. Does this centralization, through the creation of your ministry, not contradict the demands of the times?

[Csehak] Many tasks fall to this rather large organization. It was not created in the interests of centralization. Its basic task and endeavor is coordination, and not just between state directing organs. Everyone in social policy, economic policy, and society must participate in this coordination.

Regarding paternalism, or more precisely for me, maternalism, this would be a very bad role. A bad role because the central authority has 25 percent of the tools at its disposal. So I would resemble a mother who wants to operate without being able to use the greater half of her possibilities. But these tools are in a good place, at the councils. These have been decentralized. And if I want to add another endeavor to this, then this would be to decentralize the tools of social security and make them independent, so that they could be used even more effectively.

[Reporter] For a long time, it was not acceptable to speak of the poor in our society. In the coming period, large social groups will become directly endangered. They will not be able to make ends meet in a decent, European way. [Csehak] It would not be correct, if this social policy were to prepare for a 'poor policy'. We must fight very hard against impoverishment. This does not mean in material terms, but also human, social marginalization. Thus, the tasks are also very complicated and not just material in nature.

Parallel to this, I could also say that initially, we must deal more with those who have already become marginalized, impoverished, and gotten into endangered or disadvantaged situations. The two tasks must be solved simultaneously.

[Reporter] Who is entrusted with this? Is it a state task?

[Csehak] It is not just a state task. It is my profound conviction that a good social policy cannot be just state social policy. This does not mean that the state can exempt itself from any kind of responsibility. But the division of work must be clearly delineated.

[Reporter] How can a radical change be achieved here?

[Csehak] Primarily, I am counting very much on your help. More precisely on the help and possibilities of the mass information tools, journalists, openness. Simply because if we can create regular open, honest communication, if we can show those solutions from small communities which have achieved some kind of results, then although this is a great task, we can advance on this path. At the same time, it is also obvious that regulations, forms of support, chances, and possibilities are needed which do not hinder these organizations working on their own initiative, but help and support them.

Sarlos, Kadar Meet With Church Officials

LD172137 Budapest MTI in English
2108 GMT 17 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—In the break of the conference at the winter session of the Hungarian Parliament Istvan Sarlos, president of the National Assembly, met the ecclesiastical personalities attending the talks on the report of the State Office for Church Affairs concerning Hungary's church policy and the work of the office, as well as the church representatives elected to the legislative body.

The meeting was attended by Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee, secretary of the Central Committee, and Under-Secretary of State Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Church Affairs.

Urban Hints at Thaw With Solidarity

*AU221737 Paris AFP in English
1729 GMT 22 Dec 87*

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Dec 22 (AFP)—The Polish Government Tuesday cautiously praised leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union, who it said were now showing "realism."

The comments by government spokesman Jerzy Urban in a weekly press briefing were seen by analysts as the first hint that the government might be prepared to talk to leaders of the outlawed group.

Mr Urban praised the "evolution" of the attitude of some union leaders, whom, he said, were now showing "realism."

This was an apparent reference to a statement released by Solidarity's Warsaw region leadership and Zbigniew Bujak, a former underground leader, who called on followers to end a boycott of official institutions.

The government "is watching an evolution in the attitude of Mr. Bujak's group. This group deserves to be followed," said Mr. Urban. But he still accused Mr. Bujak and his colleagues of being "insincere." [passage omitted]

Two Solidarity Militants Given Early Release

*AU231050 Paris AFP in English
1000 GMT 23 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 23 (AFP)—Two Solidarity activists, who were given heavy jail terms in 1982 for the murder of a policeman, were released last Friday without completing their sentences, the prime mover behind the Committee for the Defence of the Law, Zbigniew Romaszewski, has told AFP.

Robert Chechlacz and Sylwester Lupanow, both aged 23, were sentenced to 25 and 13 years respectively for shooting police sergeant Zdzislaw Karos.

Their sentences were reduced to ten and seven years under a 1986 amnesty for political prisoners.

A Catholic priest, Father Sylwester Zych, and four other young members of the banned trade union had been implicated in the affair. The priest, who was convicted of receiving and hiding the revolver used in the crime, was sentenced to six years, but released before serving out his sentence at the request of the church.

Elsewhere, reliable sources said 12 Solidarity militants had each been fined 50,000 zlotys (160 dollars) on Tuesday for public order offences by a police court in Gdynia, a suburb of Gdansk. They were arrested on Sunday while they were demonstrating to mark the 17th anniversary of the shipworkers' riots in the Baltic sea ports in December 1980.

A former national Solidarity official, Bogdan Szybalski, 40, was jailed for 18 months and fined 400,000 zlotys (1,280 dollars) by a court in Tczew, near Gdansk for attempting to bribe policemen. He pleaded not guilty. He was arrested last July on the Baltic coast driving a van carrying materials for use in an illegal printing press.

Further Reportage on Visit by CSSR's Chnoupek

Orzechowski Dinner Speech

*LD212239 Warsaw PAP in English
2115 GMT 21 Dec 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—Speaking to welcome Bohuslav Chnoupek, Polish Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski said [at a banquet today]:

We have full understanding and sympathy for the work of restructuring social, political, and economic relations which is being done in your country in accordance with your own experience and conditionalities. We wish you success. By taking up the work of restructuring we jointly make a valuable contribution to the search for the most effective ways that enhance the development of the socialist community.

The multitude of roads leading to the goal can only enrich our joint knowledge of the regularities of development and methods of the materialization of social expectations. This fact strengthens the conviction that continuous and increasingly close and concrete cooperation in all fields is necessary.

We note with great satisfaction that a high—this year about 13 per cent—increase in foreign trade turnover continues and it is the highest among all the socialist countries.

Poland and Czechoslovakia are important links in the socialist community. The membership of Poland and Czechoslovakia in the political-defensive alliance of the Warsaw Treaty, our active participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, our joint, durable alliance with the Soviet Union—such are the safeguards of our security and, at the same time, of a faster development of our countries.

The Soviet-U.S. agreement on the liquidation of medium and shorter-range missiles provides real chances for a new progress in disarmament negotiations, for ridding the world of the threat of nuclear annihilation.

We highly value and support the initiative of Czechoslovakia and the GDR aimed at the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe and a zone free of chemical weapons. We are grateful to the Czechoslovak Government for its support given to the Polish plan of armaments reduction and increase of confidence in central Europe.

Both our states voice a fully unanimous opinion that inviolability of borders, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of states are necessary conditions of strengthening peace and cooperation in Europe, Orzechowski said.

Chnoupek Dinner Speech

LD212321 Warsaw PAP in English
2208 GMT 21 Dec 87

["Chnoupek's Speech (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 21—Referring to the treaty on limination of two categories of nuclear weapons, signed by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington Dec. 8, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek expressed the conviction that the treaty would start a dynamic disarmament process, cause a positive chain reaction and lead not only to a further key step towards a world without nuclear arms—to a treaty on the 50 percent reduction of strategical offensive armaments alongside the consistent observance of the ABM treaty but also to a total ban on nuclear tests, the signing of the convention on liquidation of chemical weapons, reduction of the manpower of armed forces and conventional arms.

We are ever more worried by voices from the West which demand not only the so-called compensation for the removal of missiles but which also tend to perform other roundabout manoeuvres through rearmament with other kinds of weapons and consolidation of military power in other regions, Chnoupek said.

The recent meeting in Berlin once more confirmed that the new political thinking positively influenced also relations between the socialist countries, which develop in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

All this positively influences the activity of the Warsaw Treaty. The efficiency of its work, the effectiveness of its mechanism are increasing, he said.

We creatively cooperate in the economic area, which is evidenced by the fact that the value of commodity exchange in the present quinquennium will amount to 12.3 billion roubles. This means an over 40 per cent rise as compared with the previous period.

We strive to attain lasting peaceful coexistence of states with different political systems and take steps to build a comprehensive system of international security.

Referring to a proposal to convene an economic forum in Prague, Chnoupek voiced satisfaction over Poland's support for this initiative. Together with you and the remaining allies, we support the idea of organizing a conference on humanitarian cooperation in Moscow. We firmly condemn persisting signs of revisionism. In the international forum, we give full support to the plan, presented by Wojciech Jaruzelski, that envisages the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional armaments in this region. We take joint steps to implement a proposal to set up a zone free of chemical weapons and a corridor free of nuclear weapons in central Europe, presented by Czechoslovakia and the GDR. We will continue to work on our idea of setting up the so-called rarified zone on the border between the two political-military alliances.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD221505 Warsaw PAP in English
1343 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 22—PUWP CC First Secretary, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today Minister of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia Bohuslav Chnoupek now on an official friendly visit to Poland.

During the talk, sides highly assessed the whole of Polish-Czechoslovak relations and pointed to the need for further development of new forms of cooperation and its further expansion in all planes.

The two exchanged views on the most important problems of the current international situation and on the major directions of both states' foreign policies. Minister Chnoupek expressed support for the Polish plan to decrease armaments and increase confidence in central Europe. Wojciech Jaruzelski assured of Poland's support for the joint initiative of Governments of Czechoslovakia and the GDR concerning a corridor on the border line of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO in central Europe free of nuclear and chemical weapons. The two expressed deep satisfaction and full support of Poland and Czechoslovakia for the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium and shorter range missiles. Both states will continue to support the dynamic foreign policy of the Soviet Union, aimed towards disarmament, strengthening of international peace and security.

The meeting was attended by Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski.

More on Jaruzelski Talks

LD221443 Prague CTK in English
1339 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw Dec 22 (CTK correspondent)—The significance of new thinking in solving international issues was stressed at today's meeting of First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the State Council Wojciech Jaruzelski and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek in Warsaw.

Despite serious international problems still existing in the world, positive aspects have been gaining strength. An example of this development is the Gorbachev-Reagan Washington summit. The signing of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate nuclear forces is above all the result of the peace policy of the Soviet Union which respects the interests of democratic forces in the world, the two representatives agreed.

Wojciech Jaruzelski said that the recent session of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee proved that the Central Committee is well aware of its responsibility for the implementation of the course laid down by the 9th and 10th party congresses.

Bohuslav Chnoupek stressed that the 7th Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee session held last year [as received] was of great significance for speeding up the socio-economic development of Czechoslovakia. A new approach and new methods in solving the tasks of the further development of socialism are necessary, he stressed.

Delegations Discuss Ties

LD221653 Prague CTK in English
1540 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw Dec 22 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak and Polish delegations, led by foreign ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek and Marian Orzechowski, noted in their talks today that major successes have been attained by the two countries in their economic cooperation.

Trade exchanges are to exceed 3,000 million roubles for the first time next year. New possibilities for cooperation have been opened by the long-term program of development of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries up to the year 2000.

The acceleration of socio-economic development in both countries makes new demands on and at the same time creates favourable preconditions for the intensification of Czechoslovak-Polish contacts. The Czechoslovak side follows with interest the program of further deepening socialist renewal in Poland, and the Polish side the effort of Czechoslovakia aimed at a comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and enhancement of socialist democracy.

In their discussion of international issues both sides called for the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. Solutions corresponding to the vital interests of all nations can be found only on the basis of joint effort, confidence and cooperation. This was fully in evidence at the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington.

Czechoslovakia and Poland fully support the treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is a breakthrough in the disarmament process. Calls in the west for "compensation" for the missiles being removed, for an arms buildup in other types of weapons and enlargement of military forces in other spheres are all the more alarming in this situation.

Czechoslovakia and Poland significantly contribute to the socialist countries' peace policy. They prove this by their initiatives aimed at turning Central Europe into an area of peaceful cooperation and security. A necessary condition for this is respect for the territorial and political realities which arose after the second world war, the delegations noted.

Visit Ends

LD222249 Warsaw PAP in English
2206 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 22—Bohuslav Chnoupek, the Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, ended his official visit here today, paid at the invitation of Foreign Affairs Minister Marian Orzechowski.

Today, during Polish-Czechoslovak plenary talks, which were headed by both foreign ministers, the sides reviewed bilateral relations in all fields since the last meeting between Poland's and Czechoslovakia's ministers of foreign affairs which took place in Prague in September 1986. Evaluating the state of these relations as positive, the sides drew attention to the need of their further development. This should be favoured by the processes of the reconstruction and democratization of life and reforming of the economies taking place in both states.

The participants highly rated economic and scientific-technological cooperation. They drew attention to the possibilities of the further development of this cooperation on the basis of direct contacts between enterprises, the creation of joint enterprises, the joint realization of research, implementation projects, as well as joint production. Both sides expressed their interest in the restructuring of the mechanisms of the functioning of the CMEA.

The participants also discussed the issues of the personal movement between both countries, especially in the border areas. It was decided that beginning from January 1988 Polish citizens will have a 48-hour transit period to travel through Czechoslovakia instead of the present 24-hour period.

The sides stressed the enormous significance of the Gorbachev-Reagan summit and the signing of the agreement on the elimination of medium and shorter range missiles. The participants discussed the cooperation of both sides in the realization of the CSCE process, disarmament negotiations, as well as their contribution to the process of detente and pan-European cooperation.

The participants adopted a joint communique on Minister Chnoupek's visit.

Also today Bohuslav Chnoupek laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier in Warsaw and a wreath on the cemetery-mausoleum of Soviet soldiers here.

In the evening the Czechoslvoak minister of foreign affairs, bidden farewell by Marian Orzechowski, left Warsaw.

Communique Issued

LD222049 Prague CTK in English
1841 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw Dec 22 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak and Polish Foreign Ministers Bohuslav Chnoupek and Marian Orzechowski appreciated the positive results in mutually advantageous economic cooperation during their talks held here December 21-22, said a joint communique issued today.

The ministers called for intensive introduction of higher, effective forms such as coproduction, direct cooperation between economic organizations and joint ventures. This helps speed up the process of economic integration in the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and improve the forms and mechanisms of its functioning, they said.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Marian Orzechowski informed each other of topical tasks and creative seeking of the best ways of the construction of socialism in Poland and Czechoslovkia, of activities aimed at improving the forms and mechanisms of socialist democracy, consistent introduction of the process of reforms and economic restructuring. They exchanged views on the present state and basic trends of development of the international situation.

Discussing main aspects of the international situation, the ministers stressed that its complicated chartacter is ever more influenced by positive changes which are the result mainly of the persistent peaceful efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist states.

Contrary to detente and enrichment of the East-West dialogue, imperialism still tries to continue the arms race and spread it into outer space while applying political pressure and interfering in the internal affairs of soviereign states.

Poland and Czechoslovakia welcome the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, signed during the summit between Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington, considering it an important step in the process of disarmament.

They voice the hope that the realization of other creative Soviet proposals will help increase security in Europe and the world over, develop a constructive dialogue between the Warsaw treaty and NATO member states and extend equal cooperation between all countries, the communique said.

Bohuslav Chnoupek and Marian Orzechowski confirmed the determination of Poland and Czechoslovakia to help implement the concrete program of disarmament in the spirit of the conclusions of the session of the Warsaw treaty political consultative committee in Berlin in May.

The ministers pointed out the topical character of the peace initiatives of the socialist states and stressed the significance of the Polish plan to limit armament and strengthen confidence in central Europe, as well as of the joint proposal of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic to create chemical and nuclear weapons free zones whose implementation would become a serious factor of strengthening peace, stability and security on the continent.

They called for further development of all-Europe cooperation, emphasizing the necessity of non-violability of borders, respect of political realities and territorial sovereignty and integrity of states. They pointed out that the activity of revanchist forces, mainly in West Germany, is at variance with the interests of detente and security, with the spirit and letter of the Helsinki Final Act.

Poland and Czechoslovakia voiced concern at the continuation of tension and conflicts in various parts of the world and confirmed their determination to actively support their just political solution and prevent the forming of new hotbeds of tension.

The ministers called for ensuring equal economic security of nations by means of restructuring international economic relations, including monetary financial, and for global solving of problems of debts, taking into consideration the interests of all states.

Further Reportage on 6th PZPR CC Plenum

Text of Miodowicz Address

AU220853 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
17 Dec 87 pp 4, 5

[Speech by Politburo Member Alfred Miodowicz at the Sixth Central Committee plenum in Warsaw on 15 December]

[Text] We want socialism without distortions. This slogan is the guiding idea of the program of our new trade unions and brings back to mind the 1980 workers protest and the earlier protests during the period of so-called

Polish meanders [zakrety]. This slogan means that while accepting socialism, the working people reject violations of legality and social justice, arrogance, and incompetence.

This slogan means that our workers will not foot the bill for errors of the decisionmakers and economists and for false forecasts of advisors. However, we should realize that our generation's attraction to socialism was created by implemented slogans such as land for peasants, plants for workers, and education and medical care for all. We have won the struggle against poverty, backwardness, and illiteracy and for industrialization and electrification. What meaning does socialism have for our people, especially the young ones, and how can it inspire them and stimulate their aspirations? The party must answer these new questions.

The referendum was an attempt to answer these questions. It was a difficult test, but it showed that we have learned from workers' protests. We can say that the referendum was a success for the party because the many people voting in it are proof that our society believes in this form of consultation and that it can exert a real influence on high policy, without resorting to strikes, rallies, and protests. People can exert this influence legally and democratically. The result of the referendum also amounts to the criticism of the present realization of the reform, of the presentation of its second stage, and of price-income policy. Our workers expressed their fears for the future.

The referendum is also proof that too many workers, farmers, and intellectuals still continue to bitterly associate democracy, independence, and self-government with the impunity of local cliques and the arrogance of clerks. Some local and economic authorities have already surrounded themselves with various commissions, councils, and sham teams, a practice which hinders real decisions and eliminates one-man responsibility of the executive authorities, managers, and directors. The democracy and the economic order that were to be accelerated as a result of the referendum are often brutally violated by absurd measures such as punitive taxation at one time. I was very pleased to hear Comrade Messner say that such mistakes and their repeats will never occur.

However, it should be strongly stressed that despite the opponents —those whose privileges are reduced by every new change and those who are hostile to whatever is socialist—large segments of our people are in favor of economic changes and of the development of democracy. This is an enormous force, which can be considerably enlarged within a few years. But we must be as consistent in increasing the supplies of goods and in creating motivations for work as we are in promoting price hikes.

Efficient work requires good organization, competent management, and the conviction that proper wages are paid for proper work. Workers become attached to enterprises if enterprises provide them with social security. This is apparently so, but we should realize what losses we have suffered in the past few years in what we call humanization of work, people-to-people relations, and working conditions, while our propaganda still continues to stress the low productivity of our workers and the enormous amounts of working time which they waste and for which they are paid. Some people assert that we enjoy too many benefits, cheap medicines, free hospitalization, and subsidized vacations and that these benefits should be cut down in the first place.

Does this mean that we have to economize on social benefits? I must resolutely oppose any such idea, because all these seemingly excessive benefits are the working people's undeniable socialist achievements and are the fruits of their efforts and because savings should be made wherever this is really possible, without creating social tensions. I have in mind the waste of materials, energy, manpower, and skilled knowledge. I have in mind the bureaucratic systems that hinder initiative and smother the enterprising spirit. We can save billion and billions of zlotys if we prevent this waste and these practices.

We will never be able to bring Poland back to health if we engage in sham activities, but we will be able to do this if we improve the performance of the state sector above all, because this sector employs a decisive majority of our people. It is in this sector that we must translate into reality the meaning of work, man's dignity, and affluent living. The road to affluent living of individuals should lead via the state firms, but at the moment the situation is just the opposite. It is precisely from the state firms that workers continue to depart to join private firms, which offer really good wages.

We have now unhealthy models of career-making, and, consequently, our young people keep on dreaming about rapidly earning money by working abroad or even by emigrating for good. We will never be able to change these attitudes by political means. We have to convince people by economic measures that the socialist sector of the economy has a place to offer to all who are not afraid of work. Work for one's own country and one's own enterprise must be better paid.

Our people are enterprising and have their wits about them and are able to achieve much. All we have to do is to unite and organize their activities in such a way as to ensure that when they work for their own benefit they also work for the benefit of their country. We have to ensure that no stupid regulation or the selfish interest of some clique can paralyze militancy and shackle initiative and willingness to work.

Our party sponsored the Polish reform at the 9th congress and confirmed it at the 10th congress. Our people approved the resolutions of these two congresses in the same way as they approved the resolutions of the congress of the new Polish trade unions. Now the party and its allies must make determined efforts to realize their resolutions. We must not be a party that merely passes resolutions. We must be a party that is able to effectively implement its programs. Legality, without which there is no democracy, order, and efficiency, must be the basic factor in the effectiveness of our efforts. The other factor must be a consistent observance of socialist principles relating to social ownership of basic production means, to payments for the true results of one's work, to devoting production to people's needs, to guarding the independence of enterprises, and to strengthening self-management bodies.

PZPR CC Resolution on Economic Reform

AU220855 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Dec 87 pp 1, 2

["Resolution by the Sixth PZPR Central Committee Plenum"—PAP headline]

[Text] I.

The Central Committee approves the program of profound political and economic reforms presented in the Politburo report. We reaffirm the PZPR's desire to continue the transformations that are necessary in Poland. We consider the line of socialist renewal that was laid down at the ninth and expounded at the tenth congresses to be a long-term strategy of Poland's development. This line grew out of our achievements, thoughts, and searches. It corresponds to the justified needs and hopes of society. It expresses the objective correctness of socialism's development, leads to the realization of its principles and values, and conforms to the great stream of reconstructuring, embracing the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries.

The already considerable achievements of renewal policy are revealing new needs and tasks today. We are setting successive goals. We are painstakingly and critically analyzing the discrepancies and mistakes that hamper transformations and delay progress. We are guided by the conviction that solving national problems and satisfying social needs calls for accelerated socialist reforms to the economy and state. Adhering to the previous solutions would pose a threat of stagnation and even regression.

Regarding conscious social support for the extent, form, and speed of the economic changes as essential, the party spoke out in favor of a national referendum. The results of this referendum and citizens' broad participation in it express an approval for this form of people's rule. The referendum is becoming a permanent part of the Polish model of socialist democracy as a credible way of expressing society's opinion and desire. It has shown that the social front of reform forces is expanding. Even though it has failed to provide a decisive result, it has revealed social support for the program of transformations. The civic debate expressed many valuable suggestions on how to implement the reforms. But we are listening with attention and understanding to the various doubts and fears about the reforms. We believe changes and additions to the program of implementing the reforms are essential, changes which suit the contents of the prereferendum debate and the referendum result.

The Central Committee thanks party members, organizations, and cells. It also thanks the allied parties, PRON aktivists, and all the nonparty citizens who saw to it that the second stage of the economic reform and of democratic changes to the political system received social support and explained our country's difficult development problems to others.

The party will continue to strengthen its alliance with all the patriotic forces that see the need to accelerate the socialist reforms to the economy and state. Neither will it cease its efforts to win over to the program of changes those who are still on the sidelines, vacillating, or still distrustful.

Our reforms will be crowned with success when society backs them up by means of political and economic energy. The experience of socialist construction and an assessment of our successes and failures teach us that progress is determined not only by an ability to put forth a program of development, but also by an ability to win social support for this program, political determination, and a readiness to deal with obstacles and discrepancies that appear on the road leading to the changes.

II.

We will act for the sake of comprehensive reforms, to be implemented efficiently, harmoniously, and consistently—both in the sphere of economic life and in the sphere of mechanisms of exercising authority.

We are entering a new development stage of socialist democracy.

The Central Committee considers it a major task to make more effective use of basic institutions of people's rule in order to expand people's participation in decisionmaking and in controlling the implementation of decisions. We are in favor of consolidating in our political system everything that liberates social energy, knowledge, and initiative; increases civic joint responsibility; enhances conscious discipline; perpetuates openness and rule of law; and expands the guarantees for civic rights and liberties. We are in favor of eliminating everything that hampers useful activity, gives rise to a feeling of division in those who govern and those who are governed, and causes bureaucratic distortions. These we consider the most important conditions necessary to increase the strength of the socialist state and the efficiency of its bodies.

We consider it essential to consolidate the political status of the Sejm and people's councils and their supremacy over executive bodies, and to permit a more effective performance of the state's institutional administrative functions. We consider it especially important to increase the independence of the people's councils as energetic territorial self-government bodies that combine the functions of local authorities with the performance of national tasks.

The Central Committee believes that work on the following should be completed in 1988:

—A further democratization of the election rules to people's councils;

—An amendment to the law on people's councils and territorial self-government bodies;

—A simplified structure of local state administration, in order to make it more efficient and improve the standard of service to citizens.

Socialist self-government ought to develop and be enhanced in a variety of forms in representative bodies, self-government bodies of workers and residents, trade unions, youth associations, social organizations, cooperatives, and bodies of social control. We will protect socialist self-government against attempts to weaken it and against bureaucratic distortions, but we will also make sure it never provides a screen for favoritism and private interests. We will see to it that it consolidates the socialist state and the effectiveness of the state's actions.

Taking into account the differences in society, the party is striving to unite all patriotic forces around matters that are the most important ones, that determine the development of the fatherland and the success of the people. We will create increasingly better conditions for the reconciliation of various opinions and interests, expand the platform of national accord, and consolidate the coalition-type method of exercising state authority. We regard it as a special duty of ours to implement the class interests of the workers and consolidate the alliance of workers, peasants, and intelligentsia.

We hold the view that socialist democracy should create a broad framework of inspired civic activity. The constitutional political order and raison d'etat of People's Poland are and will remain the cornerstone of dialogue and the impassable limit of socialist pluralism.

The reforms to ensure the democratic character, strength, and efficiency of our state are the necessary foundation of deep economic changes. Qualitative economic changes are now most necessary in order to increase production effectiveness and to better meet the working people's needs. Seeking to accelerate these changes, the party has sponsored and will consistently realize its economic reform. The Central Committee is in favor of fully realizing the second stage of the economic reform and supports the government's modifications and additions to the executive program of the reform. These modifications and additions are results of the national referendum and the discussions preceding it.

Achieving economic balance, primarily through increasing the supply of goods and services and through lowering production costs, is the most urgent task at present. We are for bold efforts to enable economic initiative and enterprise to thrive. We are in favor of restoring the social character to cooperative activities and of providing conditions for the unrestricted development of their economic performance. We are in favor of thorough changes in the system of production management and organization, of tightening the rigors of economic effectiveness, and of changing wage systems in such a way as to provide premiums for productivity, efficiency, and innovation. We think that it is necessary to accelerate changes in economic structures in order to promote scientific-technological progress, to meet the demand for goods, and to foster orientation toward export. This requires corrections to the investment program.

We will consistently realize the PZPR-ZSL farm policy, which aims at the equality of farming sectors, the profitability of effective production, and at tying progress in farming to improvements in the rural population's living conditions. Together with the SD we will seek to create stable conditions for socially useful activities by trades and other forms of private enterprise.

Only in conditions of effectiveness, balance, and efficiency is it possible to satisfactorily protect and improve living standards and working conditions, to ensure lasting and universal social security, and to solve all urgent social problems.

Especially important tasks are: improving the flow of goods; eliminating inflation; accelerating housing construction; streamlining medical care, especially the supply of medicines; modernizing and enriching the material base of education; and creating conditions for further widespread cultural development. The state and society should be more effective in concentrating their efforts in order to accomplish these tasks. The process of the necessary sorting out of wages and prices, updating economic parameters, and reducing subsidies should take place in such a way as to make it possible to maintain the real worth of people's personal incomes.

III

Persevering, effective, and uniform activities in favor of the socialist economic reforms and political system constitute the crux of the party's service for the nation and the workers class. These activities are also the main substance of the party's leading role in society and the state.

It is in this spirit that we will pose tasks for all PZPR committees, organizations, and members; improve the style and forms of party work; combat half-way measures, irresolution, and indecision, because they hinder the necessary changes; enrich and fully apply the principles of cadre policy; and eliminate the still frequent departures from it.

We are in favor of a modern, open, and dynamic policy of selecting and training cadres, a policy that makes it possible for the best people to advance and that favors those who have initiative and energy and who are capable of coping with the rules and requirements of the reforming economy and of the efficient and democratic state. We think that the seventh Central Committee plenum should be devoted to analyzing the party's cadre policy and to determining more effective forms and ways of realizing the goals of this policy.

The extent and complicated nature of current tasks makes it necessary to renew our theoretical, propaganda, and ideoeducational work and to foster the party's active solicitude for uniting economic and political changes with progress in science, education, and culture.

The basic tasks in this regard include efforts to intensify analyses of the most important problems, to provide answers to basic questions on Poland's development needs, to pave the road to socialist changes in society, the economy, and the state, to change awareness, and to enrich the individual and collective motivation for activities strongly related to the goals of the reforms and the principles of our system. The Marxist social sciences should focus their attention on examining causative forces as well as contradictions and barriers that are making it difficult to promote socialist construction in our country. The Third All-Poland Party Ideological-Theoretical Conference should be devoted to these issues in particular.

The skill of creatively applying Marxism-Leninism; initiative to implement programs; the priority of political methods; persevering, organized, and effective activities; democratism and discipline; ties with nonparty people; and sensitivity to people's problems are the factors that determine the party's effective leadership in the process of renewal. The Central Committee appeals to all primary and shop party organizations and to all party members to display such militancy.

The Central Committee approves the evaluations and tasks presented by the Politburo report and by W. Jaruzelski's speeches and adopts them as directives for the activities of party cells, organizations, and members.

The Central Committee instructs:

—The Politburo to draw up a detailed executive plan containing strictly allotted tasks, which are defined in the sixth plenum documents and which stem from the plenum discussions, and to present this plan to Central Committee members; the Politburo should carry out consistent analyses of the implementation of this plan and to expedite this implementation by the combined efforts of party echelons, the state executive bodies, and all institutions and organizations participating in the social process of economic and political reforms; each year at the Central Committee meeting the Politburo will report on the implementation of this plan and will present the evaluation of the realization of the second stage of the economic reform;

—The PZPR Deputies' Club to sponsor legislative, programmatic, and control work in order to realize the sixth plenum program for state and economic reforms;

—Party committees and organizations to work out their own specific action plans to implement the sixth plenum decisions and to examine these decisions at accountability meetings and conferences.n

The Central Committee instructs party cells and organizations and all party members active in state bodies, economic administration, trade unions, and self-government organs to thoroughly analyze the views and observations put forward during the pre-referendum social discussions and to draw up programs for realizing all reasonable proposals and demands.

Urban's 15 Dec Press Conference

AU221520 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Dec 87 pp 1, 8

[Transcript of Jerzy Urban's 15 December press conference for foreign and domestic journalists in Warsaw]

[Text] At the beginning of his weekly press conference J. Urban made a statement on some publications on Poland carried by the Western press.

Urban: This conference is being held on the usual day—Tuesday—but today is not a convenient time, because I have to answer questions at a time when the second round of the sixth plenum has just started. The plenum resolutions will determine the more important questions of the country's development in the sociopolitical and economic areas. You should focus your attention on the sixth plenum and its results.

Today Premier Z. Messner briefed the plenum on how the government plans to realize the second stage of the economic reform in 1988 and to modify this realization in line with society's wishes as expressed in the referendum. PAP will publish the text of the premier's speech.

Yesterday the government adopted the 1988 plan and its documents. You can learn from the press what the government wants to do in the first year of the second stage of the economic reform and how.

Unfortunately, some Western observers of the Polish scene base their commentaries on sensational assumptions divorced from Polish reality and not on the facts. For example, the Spanish CAMBIO carried Carlos Bradags' article "The Polish Communists Are Divided and Have Been Driven Into a Corner. The Orthodox Communists Blame General Jaruzelski for Defeat." Now I cite from the article itself: "The conservatives continue to gain the upper hand. They forced the government to disclose the true substance of the economic reform: food price hikes of 110 percent and rent, electricity, and gas price hikes of 140 percent. They also forced Urban to announce the results of the referendum and to concede defeat."

The present plenum will show whether the Polish communists are divided and whether conservative trends continue to gain the upper hand. But what can give one a shock is not so much the aforementioned evaluations as the general ideas of the rules of Poland's political life. The Western journalist apparently is able to imagine that we are able to organize a referendum, but that we are unable to publish its results and that I was forced to publish them as if in opposition to General Jaruzelski. The Western journalist also imagines that some dark forces have forced the resisting government to make the suicidal gesture of putting the cards on the table insofar as the plans for price hikes were concerned. Well, as soon as the executive program for the second stage of the reform was published, the government announced that the plans for price and incomes would be redrawn in due course and would soon be published. No one thought even for a second of taking a different line of conduct. What would the government have gained from even better results of the referendum if society would later on announce that it was deceived because, after it had voted for noncontroversial matters, the government suddenly pulled a rabbit out of its hat in the shape of various hardships? What a political defeat this would have been in our victorious referendum! Please do not treat us as swindlers and nincompoops.

I read with interest Christopher Bobinski's article in THE FINANCIAL TIMES about the Elpol joint company. This British daily sharply attacked the concept of this company. I have already cited the arguments of the founders and will not repeat them. All over the world progress in electronics is based on the concentration of capital. What the West regards as the condition for the development of that key sector, has been criticized when applying to our country because Mr Bobinski thinks that this condition does not fit in with the principles of our reform. Well, we do not want at all to embrace a new kind of dogmatism that stands guard over the purity of the reform. THE FINANCIAL TIMES unmasks the Elpol company by saying: "As we know, electronics is a strategic proposition the world over. In the Western lists of export restrictions vis-a-vis the bloc states nine-tenths of positions concern electronics." Further THE FINANCIAL TIMES writes that the development of Polish electronics results from the Polish-Soviet cooperation treaty. This leads the British daily to conclude that the foundation of the Elpol company includes political and armament features.

Are these accusations or denunciations? I confirm that the development of electronics is of strategic significance and is of key importance for economic policy, that is, it is indirectly of general political importance. I confirm that the the concentration of resources to promote the development of electronics is also a response to the Western embargo. I assure you that the aims of the reform is to strengthen and not to weaken Poland's potential. I honestly state that what in the West has a strategic and armament dimension is bound to have the same dimension in Poland. We seek to promote disarmament and not one-sided defenselessness. We seek to promote technological development and not small workshops of the 18th century.

I wanted to clarify this general misunderstanding. We are also surprised to learn that THE FINANCIAL TIMES, an organ of British business, displays such a decently constant and extraordinary solicitude for the full self-management rights in all Polish enterprises. Perhaps it would be more appropriate for THE FINANCIAL TIMES to start fighting for just any form of self-management in British enterprises? It is only too often that Western dailies care very much that certain usages should be observed in Poland, but reject such usages in their own countries.

I would also like to answer again Mr Bobinski's question from my previous press conference. He asked me about the results of the talks Vice Premier Zbigniew Szalajda had in Moscow about Polish aviation [lotnictwo]. My too brief an answer induced Mr Bobinski to issue the threat that he would boycott my conferences. More intensive research was my response to this threat.

Our Soviet partners, especially the Soviet aviation industry, accepted almost all the technical and operational suggestions put forward in the Polish government report published on the crash of the IL-62 Polish passenger plane [on 6 June 1987]. This is the response to the rumors that our report was rejected by the Soviet partners.

We are fully satisfied with the Soviet industry's attitude toward our suggestions. A strict timetable for implementing our suggestions and for supplying new engines for the IL-62 planes exists. This means that all the Polish planes that have been temporarily grounded will be able to fly by the end of the first quarter of 1988. It has been agreed that new planes embodying the necessary technical modifications will be delivered to Poland by 1990.

It has also been agreed, which is most crucial, that new generation planes designed to satisfy all the technical and economic requirements of the Polish Air Lines and international requirements will be delivered after 1990.

These are the IL-96, TU-204, and Il-114 planes. It is possible that in the period before these new planes can be delivered after 1990 we will try to purchase Western planes if prices are favorable to us.

Christopher Bobinski, THE FINANCIAL TIMES: I certainly know best what my daily published about the Elpol joint company. It published nothing to suggest that the matter in question was connected with restrictions imposed by the Paris-based Coordinating Committee for East-West Trade [COCOM], with your country's defense, or with other issues mentioned by you. I know nothing of the kind was published because I wrote that article. Perhaps you have confused some radio commentaries or something. All I knew was that four workers councils expressed their opposition, that the ELWRO plant had nothing to do with the Elpol joint company, and that at their congress serious economists criticized that idea as in conflict with the principles of the reform.

Urban: You are right. I used the Radio Free Europe program entitled "About THE FINANCIAL TIMES Article" and not the actual article published by your daily. The Radio Free Europe program, which referred all the time to THE FINANCIAL TIMES article, contained the information I cited in my statement. I apologize. I still assert, no doubt correctly, that Radio Free Europe bypasses the truth, but, at the same time, I succumb to the temptation to draw on Radio Free Europe for information, which is always false, even the details. I admit that recently I heard on Radio Free Europe that Jerzy Turowski celebrated his 70th birthday. Immediately I sent him my congratulations, although he is 75. Nothing Radio Free Europe says is right.

Saba Eldar, ELBAS, Syria: Minister, the Polish press publishes today Mr Jan Rem's article, in which this Rem accuses current left-wing terrorism of extreme eagerness. Can I ask you to tell us in the name of Mr Jan Rem what he means by current left-wing terrorism?

Urban: The crux of that article's matter is not left-wing terrorism. Well, all I can say is that Jan Rem's arguments are not much different from mine. Rem wrote that Docent Jacek Trznadel gave an interview to VOA, in which he asserted that fascism rules the roost in today's Poland. It would be too much honor for Mr Trznadel if I would engage in polemics with him and his absurd allegations in this place.

However, there is something more important to take notice of than Mr Trznadel and his views. The U.S. Government's radio station thought it possible and proper to beam on 4 December 1987 an interview that labeled the present Polish Government as fascist, terrorist, and genocidal. This is in conflict with the currently official U.S. policy toward Poland and with the U.S. Government's evaluations of our country's situation. No doubt this most slanderous manner of regarding the authorities of the country with which the United States is about to exchange ambassadors was excused by the principle of the freedom of expression, of presenting various views, and so on and so forth.

If the freedom of expression practiced for propaganda purposes of the U.S. government agencies includes the freedom to insult former allies in the struggle against fascism, then the propagation of glaring and insulting lies undermines the meaning of the common efforts to find the rules of the game and principles of cooperation in the field of mutual information. I regard the beaming of Jacek Trznadel's interview as a glaring abuse of the freedom of expression and as an unfriendly anti-Polish freak.

Victor Runov, TASS: The Soviet-U.S. summit and the Berlin meeting of the socialist states appraised highly the joint efforts of the fraternal socialist countries to ensure the success of the Washington meeting. How do you see Poland's role in the socialist community's further efforts to ensure the continuation of practical measures to restore the health of the world and of Europe?

Urban: Prior to the Washington meeting, Poland always supported the efforts and initiatives of the USSR and the entire Warsaw Pact in favor of disarmament. The Jaruzelski plan is based on the same political and strategic philosophy and expresses the same line of conduct.

The Washington summit has helped reduce the danger that Europe may be involved in an armed conflict. It has curbed the means for a European nuclear war. The results of the Washington summit jibe with our raison d'etat. In addition, we think that following the Washington summit, the significance of the Jaruzelski plan, which proposes to intensify European security, continues to increase. We will try to obtain in Vienna a mandate with a view to further defining the details of the Jaruzelski plan as a good basis for reductions in conventional weapons and so on.

The Washington talks will make it possible to reach agreement on various kinds and levels of armaments. In order to achieve progress in disarmament it is necessary to promote activities in all sectors of international coexistence—political, economic, scientific, and cultural sectors. Poland continues to promote active dialogue with many partners and is ready to intensify it, because the task of eliminating nuclear weapons from the world by the end of this century calls for creating a foundation for the coexistence of nations and a new philosophy of coexistence. Poland sees its role and considerable opportunities in this task.

From the very beginning Poland has participated in promoting the new political thinking in the international arena with a view to making a breakthrough in East-West relations. Poland has helped to devise the joint East-West strategy to this end.

That is why we continue to put forward the Polish initiatives aimed at creating a stronger political-social base for disarmament. These initiatives include proposals to make the European Council an all-European body, to arrange a meeting of chairmen of the parliaments of the CSCE states, and to establish a European Council for the Protection of the Natural Environment. We will continue to develop our initiatives and seek their realization.

Since some people in the West continue to put forward the demand that the reduction of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles should be compensated by the expansion and modernization of conventional forces, the efforts aimed at halting and curbing the conventional arms race have acquired exceptional importance. As a country possessing a considerable conventional military potential, Poland will contribute to these efforts by developing and tightening the Jaruzelski plan and by maintaining a high degree of militancy in all disarmament negotiations. We would like to help begin the proper negotiations on reductions in conventional forces as soon as possible and to participate in these negotiations, which we regard as of key significance from the viewpoint of the interests of European security.

Stefan Dietrich, FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG: Mr Minister, can you tell us what the Polish Government expects of the Polish visit of Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister of the FRG?

Urban: This visit is scheduled to take place some time between 10 and 13 January 1988 and will be a return visit, following Minister Orzechowski's official visit to Bonn in April 1986. We expect that the visit will promote the continuation of the Polish-FRG dialogue and provide opportunities to discuss all the issues of normalizing our bilateral relations on the basis of the treaty signed on 7 December 1970. These talks will take place in a period of, we assume, constructive East-West dialogue, whose special expression was the important and productive meeting between General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan. All this is advantageous for discussing with Herr Genscher key international problems such as peace, European security, detente processes, control over armaments, European cooperation, and disarmament. We hope that the visit will help to promote beneficial Polish-FRG cooperation and will contribute to a constructive dialogue with implications that go beyond bilateral relations.

Bernard Margueritte, Ouest France: Referring to the question from our TASS colleague and your reply to it, of course the Jaruzelski plan is more valid than it was before the Washington summit. You said that the Western countries would like to discuss this topic in Vienna. Does Poland think it possible that the Jaruzelski plan will become a conventional weapons proposal shared by all the socialist countries, in other words that it will not be just a Polish proposal, but a proposal of the socialist countries?

Urban: That is indeed the case, because the Jaruzelski plan has won the support of the entire Warsaw Pact as one way of achieving common objectives. In turn, the plan itself is flexible and open. It may be modified and expanded, both in subjective and in geographical terms.

Margueritte: But my question is as follows. One hears about the possibility of changing the laws or directives governing firms partly based on foreign capital in Poland, whether they are Polish emigre firms or joint ventures, in order to make these firms more attractive or at least enable them to offer the same possibilities as in the Soviet Union or Hungary. Could you tell us something more about this? What is the path of these changes?

Urban: I confirm these intentions. The path of these changes is to improve taxation rules, offer better guarantees for foreign capital, and dispense with the principle whereby the majority of shares must be in Polish hands. These changes have already been prepared. The program for implementing the second stage of the reform gives an exact date when the government will present suitable proposals. I do not remember this date because there are 160 other dates, but I know that it is near.

Barbara Drozdz, ZYCIE WARSZAWY: You have mentioned a relaxation of our passport and visa policy several times recently. And yet my newspaper has had a letter from a former Polish citizen who emigrated in 1968. He writes that he still cannot obtain an entry visa to Poland. I wanted to ask if people belonging to the so-called post-March wave of emigration [March 1968, a time of student unrest in Poland] receive special treatment concerning entry visas to Poland.

Urban: Not any more. The criteria for granting visas to foreign citizens have been relaxed. This general relaxation of visa policy also calls for granting visas to persons who used to have Polish citizenship but now have foreign citizenship. The visa policy established in recent months also covers the so-called post-March wave of emigration. The only persons the relaxation does not apply to are those who are currently performing activity that harms the PPR. These will continue not to receive visas. This of course applies to anyone acting against our country, regardless of whether or not he once had Polish citizenship or why he left.

May I recall that as of July 1987, persons who left Poland before 1986 and have remained abroad can return to Poland freely and as often as they like, without the need for the so-called entry stamp which used to be required. This has made more Polish emigrants want to retain their Polish citizenship, documented by means of a consular passport.

Michael Broniatowski, REUTER: I have several questions. According to a report published today, prices will rise by an average of 27 percent next year. Does this only apply to food, or will the price increases of basic food items be different?

The report also says that a new budget law, giving next year's trade balance has been prepared. But it gives no figures. Are you able to provide them?

And one more question, a slightly different one. Two weeks ago, PAP published a communique on preparations for next year's commemoration of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. This communique also said that the question of re-emerging Nazism in Germany and Israeli expansionism will be discussed at the same time. The Israeli authorities have protested against such a formulation, and I wanted to know if the Polish authorities have replied to this protest in any way.

Urban: The average price increase next year, involving all goods, is estimated to be 27 percent. This covers general goods, not just food. It is estimated that food, or to be more exact those food items with official prices, will go up by 40 percent.

Right now I have no details to add to what the report says. But when the Sejm adopts next year's Central Annual Plan, we will publicize those parts of the plan containing the relevant details.

Concerning the 45th anniversary of the ghetto uprising and the resultant controversy caused by the fact that some organizations, as well as the Israeli authorities, have said that they would not be taking part, I have this to say. The controversy was caused by a report contained in some Polish papers on 1 December about a meeting by a committee responsible for organizing the commemoration, this committee being a part of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy. The Israeli spokesman, Mr Ehuda Gola, protested the fact that some Polish newspapers said that during the commemoration, consideration would also be given to, and I quote, "possible consequences of Israel's expansionist policy." End of quote. Some of our papers also said that revisionist and neofascist trends in the FRG would be examined. I wish to tell you that the report on the committee meeting in the government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA is the authoritative source of information. It contains no such references.

Any link between commemorating the heroic struggle of Polish Jews against Hitlerism and Israeli state policy in general would be wrong and pointless because there was no Israeli state when the Warsaw ghetto uprising broke out at a time of Hitlerite genocide in Europe.

Similarly, there is no point in Israel creating a problem out of and protesting against some inaccurate and inappropriate formulations on our part. If we were so sensitive to everything Israel says and writes about Poland, there would quickly be tension in our relations. The Israeli Government, as well as Israeli and Jewish organizations involved in commemorating the anniversary of the uprising, will be able to convince themselves about Poland's intention to accord this commemoration its rightful status, inspired by a respect for all those wishing to honor the memory of the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto.

We are concerned about an honorable and undisturbed commemoration of this important anniversary for all Jews and Poles.

I have just found out that the organizing committee intends to invite a group of Jewish journalists to Poland in order to acquaint them with the preparations.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: You said at your last press conference that you would look into a report about a mooring point north of Szczecin, to which the GDR is claiming ownership, and that you would explain this matter to us. Could you do so today? I want to know whether it is true that Poland intends to withdraw one of its floating mooring points from an area that used to be considered international waters but which is now claimed by the GDR to be GDR waters.

Urban: I will tell you what I told you last time. No, it is not true. Poland has no intention of withdrawing any mooring point.

Bogdan Turek, UPI: What was the reason for not issuing passports to Zbigniew Romaszewski and his wife, both "Solidarity" activists? Another question: There was supposed to have been another meeting of the Polish-Soviet mixed commission to investigate blank spots in Polish-Soviet relations, I think it was meant to have met in November. Did it, and if so are there any results?

Urban: I do not know the details about the passports for the Romaszewskis. But I do know of their activity, so I may assume, with a very large degree of probability, that the interests of the Polish state have not induced the passport authorities to issue them with passports.

There was no meeting of the commission dealing with what is popularly known as blank spots. Such a meeting will take place on 12 January in Warsaw, and is being prepared.

Michael Broniatowski, REUTER: I am very sorry, but I want to get back to next year's commemoration of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. The protests were caused by the fact that the communique we have been talking about, this famous communique, was published by PAP, hence all the trouble. However, in reply to this communique, many Jewish organizations have said that they would not come to the commemoration unless the Polish authorities issue an apology.

Urban: This is not so much a question as an explanation, because a question on this has already been asked and a reply has also been given.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: You conduct a lot of polemics with Western radio stations, and today's conference is no exception. Do you really think their influence on our society is so great?

Urban: It is very difficult to say. I believe the influence is diminishing, although there is a certain principle whereby when the number of listeners falls, some types of information develop the ability to spread out and pass from lip to lip. It is also true that when something unusual happens, more people listen to these stations. According to the latest research, 78 percent of adult Poles never listen to these stations, and 22 percent say they listen rather seldom. Four percent listen to the Voice of America regularly, 5 percent occasionally, and 7 percent very rarely. Two percent of adult Poles listen to Radio Free Europe regularly, 4 percent occasionally, and 9 percent very rarely. Four percent listen to the BBC regularly, 3 percent occasionally, and 5 percent very rarely.

These are the results of investigations by the Public Opinion Research Center. And these investigations were completed on 1 December, so they are still very fresh.

Matti Horiseppa, Finland: In order to reduce the consumption of liquor, which has risen considerably in recent years, the government has commenced a campaign to popularize beverages with less alcohol, in other words wine and beer. But on the other hand, many restaurants do not serve beer at all after a certain time, because the waiters say that they are not paid to serve beer. Do you not think this goes against the government's policy, and do you see any sense in restaurants encouraging customers to order stronger alcoholic beverages?

Urban: Perhaps this really is a clash between, on the one hand, government policy on combatting alcoholism, and on the other hand the policy of restaurants wanting to make maximum profits and so eliminating cheaper drinks in favor of more expensive ones. One has to expect more clashes like this as the independence of Polish enterprises, including restaurants, increases. But it would be difficult for the government to order restaurants to serve beer. All the government can do is ban the sale of liquor after a certain time in order to reduce consumption. We do not wish to succumb to the tendency to regulate everything in Poland for the sake of common sense, including what is served in restaurants.

Bogdan Turek, UPI: A new movement has emerged following the rebirth of the Polish Socialist Party [PPS]—a movement of real politics. How are the authorities going to treat it?

Urban: This is an example of how various comradely initiatives become inflated; how various pocket-sized groups come together so that they can call themselves a party. One can imagine what would happen in Poland if we adopted the principle that parties can be freely created. We would then be faced with hundreds of mutually antagonistic parties, each one with just a few members. The so-called party that calls itself the Movement of Real Politics is an idea similar to the one about restoring the PPS, about which I have already spoken. Well, this has more of a social nature than a political one.

I have in front of me the Movement of Real Politics' program, which suggests dividing Poland into several regions, each th its own legal system, in other words changing Poland into a federal country. The Movement of Real Politics also says that it wants to gather conservatives, liberals, left-wingers, nationalists, and monarchists. I think it has gathered one of each, though I do not think it has found a monarchist yet. I really do not think games like this deserve serious attention. I have encountered an article by one well-known signatory of this declaration, Mr Stefan Kisielewski, who allegedly wrote in TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY that he signed it for the sake of fun or a joke—something like that. dd

RCP Conference Resolution Published

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["Resolution of the RCP National Conference" held in Bucharest 14-16 December 1987—passages in boldface as published]

[Text] The RCP National Conference—an event of particular importance in the life of our party and people—which took place from 14-16 December 1987, unanimously endorsed and highly assessed the theses, ideas, and guidelines of the comprehensive report read by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, on the Development Stage of the Forces of Production, of Socialist Society in General, of the Production and Social Relations, of Workers Revolutionary Democracy, of Perfecting Management on the Basis of the Principles of Self-Management and Self-Administration, and of Improving and Continuing the Revolutionary Process in the New Stage of Building the Comprehensively Developed Socialist Society and Romania's Advance Toward Communism.

An excellent expression of the creative and profoundly scientific application of the universally valid laws and truths of scientific socialism and of dialectical and historical materialism to the specific conditions in our country, the report vigorously emphasizes the renewing and revolutionary thinking of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, as well as his theoretical and practical concept concerning the targets of our homeland's comprehensive development in the current stage, and it stresses the decisive role of the party—our nation's vital center—in perfecting the organization and management of Romanian society, all aspects of socioeconomic activity, and workers revolutionary democracy, its role in improving the quality and efficiency of all activities, and its role in formulating and implementing the domestic and foreign policy promoted by our socialist state.

The national conference is a fervent expression of the feelings of boundless love and deep gratitude that the Communists and all our party and people harbor toward Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most beloved son of the nation, enthusiastic revolutionary and patriot, hero among the heroes of our nation, and toward his decisive role and contribution to the formulation and scientific substantiation of all plans and programs for our homeland's socioeconomic development, to their implementation, and his contribution to establishing the most appropriate and efficient political and organizational ways and means to resolutely implement the decisions adopted and the targets of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advanced toward communism. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's revolutionary spirit and inexhaustible energy, his selfless adherence and devotion to the people, his complete identification with our nation's supreme aspirations, his enthusiastic patriotism and profound humanism, his long-term thinking and clear-sighted actions to ensure our homeland's firm progress, and his persevering concern about promoting a dynamic and renewing work style in all political, economic, and social areas inspire all the Communists and all our people in their work and struggle to raise Romania to new heights of progress and civilization.

I

1. The national conference fully endorses Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's conclusions and assessments on the objective and lawful process of Romania's development along the road of the socialist revolution and construction, on the stages traveled and on the current stage of development of the forces of production and production relations in our country, and on the historic achievements of the Romanian people under party leadership, which have turned Romania from a poorly developed and "eminently agrarian" country—as it was viewed in the past—into an agrarian-industrial country with modern industry organized on the basis of the most modern achievements of technology and science, and with socialist agriculture in full progress, with strongly developed science, education, and culture, and with a high material and cultural standard for all our people. All great achievements of the Romanian people in a short historical period were possible as a result of the consistent implementation of the RCP's policy and of the principles of scientific socialism that have ensured the elimination, at a rapid rate, of past lags and Romania's advance on the road to progress and well-being.

Throughout this period, the RCP honorably fulfilled its high, historic mission of leading the people on the road to socialism and communism by asserting itself more and more as the sole political force that has demonstrated and constantly demonstrates its capability to rally and guide our nation's creative energy toward achieving their basic aspirations and hopes, and building the most just and humane society on our homeland's soil.

As a vigorous manifestation of the party's internal democracy and of the workers revolutionary democracy in our homeland, the RCP National Conference fully endorses the firm measures and guidelines clearly formulated by the party secretary general on completely implementing the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and vigorously increasing the forces of production, socialist ownership, and national wealth, and on implementing the strategic targets of our homeland's transition to a new stage of development. Assessing the progress made in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, the national conference unanimously reasserted the correctness of the targets set for the 1986-90 period and of the programs for the scientific organization and modernization of the production process, for standardizing and perfecting the economic-financial activity, and for firmly applying self-management, self-administration, and self-financing in all areas. In the spirit of guidelines and recommendations made by the party general secretary, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, all necessary technical, political, and organizational measures have to be taken to consolidate and develop what we have achieved thus far, to make better use of the material-technical base available in our national economy, to use most effectively the means of production and manpower, to reduce material consumption and raw material and energy consumption, and to strengthen and increase socialist, state, and cooperative ownership.

The Party National Conference assesses that all necessary conditions exist to ensure the complete fulfillment of special development plans and programs in 1988-90 and the implementation of all targets put forward by the 13th RCP Congress, aimed at the intensive development of industry, agriculture, and of the other branches of the national economy to ensure the vigorous affirmation of the new scientific-technical revolution and of the new agrarian revolution in our country and to vigorously increase the national wealth and national income—the lasting basis for improving the material and cultural standard of living of our people, the supreme goal of our party's policy, and the essence of the comprehensively developed socialist society that we are successfully building in Romania. We will continue to pay particular attention to expanding the energy and raw material base and to modernizing the structures of industrial production by primarily increasing the highly technical branches that are making better use of raw materials, energy resources, and social work, while also ensuring a broad application of technical progress and the increased competitiveness and efficiency of Romanian products earmarked for export.

The national conference stressed that it is necessary to continue to make efforts to improve the quality and technical standard of products, to rationally and scientifically use raw and other materials, to unflinchingly respect material and energy consumption norms, and ensure an increase in the rate of recovering materials, spare parts, and subassemblies for reconditioning and for reuse. Firm measures are also necessary to appropriately organize the production process and labor, to introduce technologies and means of automation in order to ensure a greater increase in labor productivity—a decisive factor for increasing the efficiency of all our activities and for the country's development in general.

Moving from the party secretary general's thesis that Romania is now going through a decisive stage, the higher stage of building the comprehensively developed socialist society and of creating conditions for proceeding to build the communist society, the national conference stressed the particular importance that in this stage must be attached to firmly applying the principles of self-management and self-financing, to increasing the sense of responsibility, discipline, and order, and to appropriate measures, so that all party and state bodies, all bodies of our workers revolutionary democracy, and all working people—as producers and owners—will commendably play their role in fulfilling the plan and the programs for our homeland's socialist development.

2. The national conference fully endorses the assessments and guidelines formulated by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the development of agriculture. The general application of the positive experience of a great number of units which, in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, yielded crops matching the yields established to win the "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution" award will make it possible to achieve a considerable increase in grain yields, to vigorously develop the vegetable, fruit-growing, and wine-growing sectors, and to increase livestock and especially animal products in accordance with provisions, so that 1988 will be a decisive year for implementing the targets of the new agrarian revolution. For this purpose, we have to act with a great sense of responsibility to firmly apply the results of scientific research, to make best use of the material base—the mechanization and chemicalization base—available in our agriculture, and to completely implement the programs for land improvement and for the efficient use of all irrigation facilities.

3. The national conference highly appreciates the correct policy based on the revolutionary and profoundly scientific concept of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the allocation of about 30 percent of the national income for the accumulation fund and regarding socioeconomic development—a decisive factor for the progress of our homeland in general. Life and undeniable facts have demonstrated that only on this basis will we ensure a constant progress of the forces of production, our people's free and independent future, and their constant advance toward the heights of socialist and communist civilization. Thus—on the basis of Romania's example—it has been confirmed that the allocation of a considerable part of the national income for the accumulation fund is an objective law and a vital requirement for development. The continuation of the policy of allocating about 70 percent of the national income for consumption and about 30 percent for the development fund will ensure both resources for the constant improvement of the material and cultural standard of living of the people and the necessary funds to develop the forces of production in general, for the constant prosperity of the homeland, and to improve the standard of civilization and well-being of our whole nation.

Stressing that thus, in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, an investment volume of almost 500 billion lei was achieved, that about 450 new production units were put into operation, an important number of sociocultural establishments were built, and that considerable modernization and town planning projects were carried out in Bucharest and other localities throughout the country, the national conference requested that all necessary measures be taken so that 1988 will see the commissioning of all planned projects, the fulfillment of planned parameters, and the operation of all installations and equipment at full capacity. Special stress must be further placed on implementing the programs to modernize and equip units with new and highly technical machines and installations and on substantially reducing the proportion of construction projects within overall investments.

The national conference stressed that one of the most important achievements of the party policy is the correct distribution and the balanced deployment and development of the forces of production and of per-capita production throughout the country, thus creating conditions for complete equal rights for all our homeland's citizens and the vigorous development of the new industrial centers, new towns, and new agrarian-industrial localities. In the socioeconomic development of all areas in our country, it is necessary to pay particular attention to protecting nature and to ensuring an ecological balance as an indivisible, organic, and particularly important part of the work of socialist construction. It is necessary to work determinedly, especially to complete the programs for communes and town planning, organization, and modernization and to limit the built up areas, something that will strengthen the alliance between the workers class, peasantry, and intellectuals, and between all categories of working people, and that will speed up the homogenization process, will remove the essential differences between villages and cities and between various social classes and categories, and will create a uniform society of the working people—the conscious builders of socialism and communism.

4. The national conference highly assesses and requests that everything be done to enhance the essential role played by scientific research and technological engineering in ensuring our homeland's constant progress. The great forum of the Communists fully endorses the assessments of the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on the need for all scientists to constantly work with the greatest revolutionary responsibility to intensify research activity, to link it more closely with production and education, and to solve the multiple and complex problems of technical progress in the shortest time possible, and to rapidly introduce the latest achievements of science and technology into the production process in all areas.

The national conference expressed the sentiments of esteem and respect harbored by all our people for Comrade Academician Dr Engineer Elena Ceausescu, an eminent politician and scientist of international repute, for her particular contribution to the constant progress of science, education, and culture, to firmly involving scientific research in solving the problems of material production, to vigorously promoting technical progress in our economy, and to enriching world knowledge.

The national conference stresses the constant concern of our party and state for constantly improving the standard of education of all working people and of molding specialists capable of mastering and developing modern technology in all areas, of easily adapting to swift structural changes, and capable of working with the same skill in several areas. In this context, the importance of improving and constantly rotating all categories of working people was stressed, as was the role of education, science, and culture as factors of the greatest importance for our homeland's revolutionary transformation.

5. The national conference assesses that to implement the targets put forward by the 13th RCP Congress, decisive importance lies with the recommendations made and guidelines provided by the party secretary general on the development of international economic relations and Romania's active participation in the exchange of assets and in the world division of labor. In this spirit, all enterprises, all ministries, foreign trade enterprises, and the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation must work to fulfill their tasks with greater responsibility, must take firm action to speedily eliminate the serious failings and shortfalls in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, make better use of raw materials and our people's work, and must constantly increase the efficiency of foreign economic exchanges. The national conference fully endorses the assessment of the party secretary general, according to which—owing to the deterioration of the world economic situation in general—it is necessary to develop cooperation with all states in the world, to intensify production sharing and specialization, and to achieve a truly free trade and equal and equitable economic relations as the only way to overcome the serious problems that exist and to achieve a stable economy that will ensure the development of each nation.

Similarly, Romania will broadly participate in CEMA's activity, in achieving long-term agreements up to the year 2000, and in improving the activity of that body, so that production sharing and specialization between the member countries will effectively contribute to the progress of each socialist country and to the development of socialism in general. At the same time, collaboration and cooperation with other countries that are not CEMA members will develop vigorously, as will cooperation with the developing countries and with the developed capitalist countries.

6. The national conference emphasized with particular satisfaction that, under the difficult conditions of the first years of the 9th decade, our country has ensured both a constant development of the forces of production, jobs for all citizens in our homeland, an improvement in the standard of living, and an increase in the remuneration of all working people. Assessing that the exemplary fulfillment of the 5-year plan creates the necessary framework to constantly improve the working, health, and living conditions of the whole nation, the high forum of the Communists particularly appreciates and endorses the proposal of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, regarding the move, as of the second

half of 1988, to increasing the remuneration of all working people by about 10 percent, so that by 1990 all workers will receive increased remuneration, the move to raising low pensions, and to firmly applying the overall contract system. The implementation of the socialist remuneration principles of closely linking incomes to the results of work performed must be constantly accompanied by vigorously developing the spirit of work, of solidarity with all working people, and of blending the general interests with individual interests, and they must be coupled with a sense of devotion to our homeland's development in general.

Similarly, all necessary measures must be taken to commendably fulfill the program for regional self-sufficiency that ensures proper supplies for all working people and for all citizens in our country.

II

1. Examining the current stage of Romanian society, the road traveled, and the achievements attained during the years of socialist construction, the Party National Conference very highly assesses the noteworthy results—the greatest in all our millenary existence—achieved by the Romanian people in the timespan since the Ninth RCP Congress when, through the unanimous will of the communists and of our whole nation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the great leader of our nation and country, was elected to the supreme position of party secretary general.

As a result of the consistent policy of smoothly developing the forces of production and of ensuring a correct relationship between the accumulation fund and the consumption fund, Romania has constantly advanced on the road to socioeconomic progress. The national conference fully endorses the assessment of the party secretary general in connection with the need to constantly perfect and strengthen socialist state and cooperative ownership, to unflinchingly apply the principles of self-management and self-administration, and to increase the responsibility of the working people's collectives for the proper management and administration of the people's national wealth.

2. Stressing the exceptional theoretical and practical significance of the thesis of the party secretary general regarding the construction of socialism with the people and for the people, the national conference stressed the fact that a broad and unique democratic framework had been created, one of its kind which is superior to any form of bourgeois democracy and permits the direct participation of the working people, as owners, producers, and consumers, in formulating and fulfilling all plans and programs for our homeland's development. The current stage of development of Romanian society is thus characterized by an organizational and institutional structure that demonstrates that an appropriate state of agreement has been achieved between the development of the forces of production and the masses' participation in management within the framework of a direct and representative democracy.

The national conference also stresses that everything must be done in the future, too, to constantly develop and deepen our workers revolutionary democracy, and to improve the management and planning system by proceeding from the need to enhance the role and functions of the state in leading and smoothly and consciously developing all sectors of activity.

Stressing the need to consistently and firmly apply the new economic-financial mechanism and to enhance the role of the general meetings of working people in discussing the basic problems of the activity in each unit, the national conference requests that the ministries, people's councils, enterprises and central departments, and the financial-banking bodies take all necessary measures to increase efficiency and profitability, constantly strengthen economic-financial self-management, establish firm control and perfect financial discipline, eliminate uneconomical expenditures, secure one's own resources designed for self-financing and the material incentive of the working people, and to secure the funds for the development of the national economy in general.

3. The Party National Conference notes with complete satisfaction that the great progress achieved by our country in all areas is the result of the sustained efforts made by the Romanian people, the fruit of the joint work of all our homeland's citizens and of the unity of our socialist nation, and the historic result of the development of the Romania nation and of the uniform national state. The high forum of the Communists stresses with satisfaction that our socialist system and the RCP have achieved the most complete equality of rights, irrespective of social category or national origine. As the report stresses, we must most firmly combat any signs and vestiges of nationalism, chauvinism, and any form of discrimination or humiliation of man; we must vigorously develop feelings of fraternity, solidarity, and mutual cooperation as sons of the same homeland.

III

1. In the light of guidelines of the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, during the timespan that has elapsed since the 13th RCP Congress all ideological, propaganda, political, cultural-educational, and mass activities have constantly focused on the work of molding the new man, on the many-sided affirmation of the human personality, and on developing the revolutionary awareness of the working people on the basis of the philosophical, scientific, dialectical-materialist concept about the world and life. In fully endorsing the assessment in the report presented by the party secretary general regarding the fact that in the ideological, political, and educational areas there is a certain lag compared with the rapid development of the material-technical

base, the national conference requests that all those who are active in the area of propaganda and political work ensure the resolute implementation of the party's ideological program and work with greater determination to educate young people and all citizens in our country in the spirit of work, of love for the country, the party, and people, and of understanding and becoming thoroughly acquainted with the general laws of social development and of the interdependence between various phenomena at home and in the international arena. We must ensure the resolute application of the Party Statute and of the norms of socialist ethics and equity in work, in the family, and in society; we must instill in the awareness of the working people and of our homeland's youth a feeling of pride in being a citizen of Socialist Romania, in being an active participant in the construction of the most just society in the world, and in constantly doing one's duty and serving the people, the homeland and its independence and sovereignty under any circumstances.

Propaganda must take more effective action so that the broad masses of working people will become acquainted with and understand the profoundly scientific analysis by our party and its secretary general of the current general world processes in order to firmly retaliate against those who deny the superiority of socialism by demonstrating—through new arguments—the lawful advance of humanity toward the achievement of the most just society and the correctness of the invincible principles of scientific socialism.

The national conference requests that the creative unions, press, radio, and television, and all educational organizations in our society make an increased contribution to asserting progressive revolutionary convictions and to the molding and education of the new man—the conscious builder of socialism and communism.

2. The national conference highly assesses Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's uniform concept of inestimable significance on constantly strengthening the leading role of the party—the vital center of the whole nation—on enhancing the responsibility of party bodies and organizations, of cadres, and of all Communists in improving the political and organizational activity, in strengthening the sense of responsibility and of the party discipline, and in properly organizing and leading all activities. In the light of current requirements and of the truth according to which the basic criterion of assessing party work and the way communists act are the results achieved in fulfilling the economic plan and the plan in all other areas, it is necessary to constantly develop and improve party democracy, the work style and methods of the party organizations and bodies, collective work and leadership, ensure the proper distribution of cadres and an effective control of how decisions are implemented, and it is necessary to carry out systematic educational and ideological activity.

The national conference fully endorses the criticism leveled by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in connection with the fact that concerning some party organizations, including some party cadres, there is an atmosphere of complacency, of delusion, an attitude of tolerance and even of covering up certain situations; there is a spirit of familiarity and of wrongly understood friendship which has often led to failure to note various shortfalls and to a lack of a militant attitude toward the violation of party and state decisions, and of the country's laws, and it has led to failure to take energetic measures against those party and statenactivists who have not appropriately fulfilled the tasks entrusted to them. The national conference requests that firm steps be taken so that the overall party and state activity will be characterized by a strong sense of responsibility, militancy, order, and discipline, and by a revolutionary attitude so as to raise the party activity to match the great tasks facing the Communists and our whole people in the current stage and in the future. At the same time, action must be taken with great determination to increase the responsibility and enhance the role of each party organization and of each party body in properly organizing and managing all socioeconomic activities.

"We have—the report presented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes—a powerful and young party, which has demonstrated through its overall activity that it is honorably fulfilling its historic mission to serve the people. However, the party is now faced with new problems. We must provide new answers in connection with the socialist development of our homeland, the constant improvement of the management and planning, of the workers revolutionary democracy, and of the activity of uniting all people in achieving the great revolutionary transformations. To be a revolutionary, to be a professional revolutionary, the party and state activist must always be ready to fulfill any mission when the party, the country, and the people request this and must place above all else the general interests of socialism, of the people, and of Romania's independence and sovereignty."

IV

1. The national conference very highly assesses the scientific and profoundly realistic analysis made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, party secretary general and president of Romania, of the current international situation, of the evolution of the communist and workers movement, and fully endorses the active foreign policy practiced by our party and state and the initiatives and actions, which have earned a broad international response, taken by Romania and its leader in the direction of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, of peace, understanding, and equal cooperation among all nations.

The high forum of the Romanian Communists fully endorses the assessments made in the report to the effect that in the current very serious and complex situation the anti-imperialist and realistic forces have developed and are continuing to develop more and more vigorously, as does the struggle of peoples who desire disarmament, peace, and new relations based on equality and mutual respect, and to the effect that the era through which we are going requires a fundamental change in the way of thinking about the problems of peace and war.

The conference fully endorses Socialist Romania's firm orientation toward developing broad relations with all states, irrespective of social system, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, and on the basis of refraining from the use or threat of force. The RCP and Socialist Romania are paying particular attention to relations with the socialist countries, primarily with neighboring countries, with the developing countries, with the small and medium-sized countries, the nonaligned countries, and with the developed capitalist countries, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

2. The national conference stresses the particular significance of the signing of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of a whole number of nuclear weapons, of the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and views this as an event of historic importance for the world, as a result of the realistic thinking and of the intensified struggle of advanced forces everywhere and of the peoples throughout the world who have advocated and firmly advocate disarmament, the total cessation of nuclear testing, and the complete refraining from the militarization of outer space. At the same time, it is necessary to move to radically reducing conventional weapons, troops, and military expenditures in order to achieve a balance of weapons at the lowest possible level and to adopt clear verification measures, which will ensure the complete observation of the conventions and agreements concluded.

The national conference stresses with satisfaction Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's concern about and initiatives aimed at reducing conventional weapons, and the importance of the decision adopted by our country within the framework of a national referendum last year to cut weapons, troops, and military expenditures by 5 percent.

The national conference reaffirms Romania's determination to do all it can—in the spirit of the policy of peace and cooperation—to achieve European security and a united Europe, irrespective of the diversity of its social systems, to safeguard peace, and ensure democratic and independent development, and the socioeconomic progress of all peoples.

The conference also stressed Romania's concern about broadly developing cooperation among the Balkan states and turning this area into a zone of peace and good-neighborliness, without nuclear and chemical weapons, troops, and foreign military bases, and it stressed the particular importance that would lie in organizing a summit meeting of heads of states and governments from the Balkan countries in Bucharest.

3. In the current international situation, and owing to the increasingly closer interdependence that characterizes the development of events, intensified efforts are required to eliminate the policy of the use or threat of force and to solve all disputes between states by peaceful means. In this sense, the national conference endorses the assessment made in the report on the importance of organizing an international conference on Middle East issues under the aegis of the UN and with the participation of all countries concerned, including the PLO and the permanent members of the Security Council, and stressed the need to do everything to speedily halt the war between Iraq and Iran, and to refrain from any actions that would escalate the conflict in the Gulf area.

4. Expressing concern about the serious economic situation that deeply affects all peoples, but especially the developing countries, as a result of the economic crisis, of the inequitable financial-monetary policy, and owing to the protectionist measures adopted by the developed countries, the conference firmly advocates the settlement of the problems of underdevelopment, the establishment of a new world economic order, and the promotion of new economic-financial relations based on full equality and equity in interstate relations. In this sense, Romania advocates the organization of an international conference within the United Nations with the participation of both the developed countries and the developing countries in order to arrive at mutually acceptable solutions—including regarding the problem of the inordinately high foreign debts of the developing countries—which should open prospects of eliminating underdevelopment and achieving a new world economic order.

The conference reaffirms the consistent, profoundly principled, and greatly humanist position held by Socialist Romania on the active participation, on an equal footing, of all states, irrespective of size or social system, in solving the complex and particularly serious political, military, and economic problems of the international arena, and on safeguarding peace. In this sense, the conference believes that a particular role devolves on small and medium-sized countries, and on developing and nonaligned countries, which represent the great majority of the world and are directly interested in a policy of cooperation, independence, and peace.

Romania will continue to struggle with determination to enhance the role of the United Nations and of other international bodies in the democratic settlement of world problems with the participation of all countries.

5. The national conference emphasizes on this occasion, too, the decisive contribution made by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to formulating and implementing the RCP's policy of developing

relations with all communist and workers parties and with the progressive and democratic forces everywhere in the struggle for progressive and peace in the world, for the free and independent development of each nation, and to resolve the complex problems of the present-day era.

In the current serious international situation, the unity of the communist and workers parties is a vital requirement for halting the dangerous trend of events and for the socioeconomic progress of the whole world. The forum of the Romanian Communists expresses the full conviction that the forces which advocate peace, and peoples everywhere, are capable of determining, through united action, the actual move to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, to ensure peace and safeguard life on our planet.

Expressing the conviction that the documents presented, the theses, ideas, and guidelines included in the comprehensive report by the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are in keeping, to the greatest extent, with the fundamental aspirations of the Romanian nation, the national conference calls on all Communists and working people to spare no effort and to do all they can, by acting in a spirit of great communist and revolutionary responsibility, to unflinchingly implement the historic targets of the 13th RCP Congress and the excellent program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and Romania's advance toward communism. Let us do all we can to develop our homeland and ensure its bright future!

The Party National Conference calls on the Communists, the party bodies and organizations, mass and civic organizations, and on all working people to rally closer around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in their work and struggle to ensure our homeland's transition to a higher stage of development and its elevation to new heights of progress and civilization. Let us vigorously develop the sentiment of revolutionary patriotism, the love for the country and for its glorious past, and let us do all we can to strengthen our homeland's independence and sovereignty!

Workers, technicians, and engineers! Work determinedly to completely fulfill all ranges of the item-specified production and export plan, and do not spare any effort to guarantee our country more electric power, coal, oil, iron ores, and other raw materials and to implement the special programs for an intensive and modern development of production and to improve the technical and qualitative standard of products and labor productivity, and to widely apply the most modern achievements of science and present-day technology!

As producers and owners of the overall national wealth, ensure the strictly application of the principles of self-management and self-financing in each economic unit, the economic management of all material and financial resources entrusted to you by society, and the constant strengthening of socialist ownership and an increase in the national income and the national wealth of all our people on this basis!

Working people in agriculture! Do not spare any effort to implement the development programs of all agricultural sectors and to achieve the targets of the new agrarian revolution in our homeland on a large scale!

Work with the greatest responsibility to carefully cultivate each meter of land, to perform all agricultural operations on schedule and with good quality, and to fulfill the important tasks of developing and modernizing our socialist agriculture and ensuring increasingly larger, secure, and more stable crops, and work to increase the contribution of this basic branch of our national economy to implementing the programs for regional self-sufficiency and to the development of our homeland in general!

Men of science and research workers! Work with devotion and a revolutionary spirit to implement the provisions of the program for scientific research, technological progress, and the introduction of technical progress in the current 5-year plan, make your entire contribution to the implementation of the strategic targets put forward by the 13th RCP Congress regarding Romania's transition to a new and higher stage of development!

Men of culture and art! Create works which will tellingly and convincingly illustrate the great changes of the years of socialism, portray the bright images of heroes characterized by the most advanced features of the new man, the conscious builder of communism, who is most deeply and lastingly devoted to the cause of the homeland and party and is inspired by the most noble and lofty aspirations of the Romanian people!

Working people from all over our homeland!

Young and old people, men and women!

Through the documents of exceptional importance which it adopted, the Party National Conference has put forward a clear, profoundly scientific and fully realistic program for revolutionary work and action to commendably implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions and all plans and programs for our homeland's socioeconomic development.

Closely united around the party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, let us work, under any circumstances, as true communists and as true revolutionaries, let us serve the people, the party, socialism, and peace with all our work and creative energy, and let us ensure the firm progress of our free, sovereign, and independent homeland on the road to socialism and communism and the achievement of a higher material and cultural level of civilization on Romanian soil!

Ceausescu Attends National Assembly Meeting

AU230942 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Text] The proceedings of the sixth session of the ninth legislature of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] were resumed in Bucharest today.

The arrival of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and of Comrade Elena Ceausescu in the Parliament Hall was welcomed with prolonged applause by the deputies and guests.

As is known, the agenda of the current session, which was opened at the end of October, includes important documents regarding our country's socioeconomic development:

1. Draft Bill on the Uniform National Plan for Socioeconomic Development of the SR of Romania for 1988;

2. Draft Bill on the Development of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Administration of the SR of Romania for 1988;

3. Draft Bill on the State Budget of the SR of Romania for 1988;

4. Program for Self-Management and Self-Sufficiency To Ensure Proper Supplies of Agricultural Produce, Foodstuffs, and Industrial Consumer Goods for the People in 1988;

5. Draft Bill on Forming the Supreme Council for Romania's Socioeconomic Development, whose role it is to formulate long-term guidelines and the uniform national plans for the country's socioeconomic development.

Today the GNA decided to postpone the discussion of the Draft Bill on the Economic and Social Relationships Between Socialist Units and on the Conclusion and Execution of Economic Contracts initially included in the agenda and to complete the agenda by validating the appointments of some deputies and by revoking others.

Further reports on the session will be carried in later casts.

People's Councils Chamber Proceedings

AU221930 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/12/1987—Gathered in Bucharest in the afternoon of 22 December to debate important bills concerning the economic and social development of the country, of all counties and localities in 1988, the legislative chamber of the people's councils of Romania debated the draft single national plan of the socioeconomic development of the Socialist Republic of Romania for 1988, the draft plan of the development of agriculture, food industry, silviculture and water management for 1988, the draft local budgets for 1988 and the self-management and self-sufficiency programme for the ensurance of the population's good supply with food products and consumer goods in 1988.

Slovene LC Debates Economic Policy

LD221506 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1057 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—The Slovene LC will not support economic policy unless, at the same time as the resolution for next year is adopted, essential changes in the foreign currency system are carried out, as were opted for by the Yugoslav Economic Chamber and the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia. Besides this, as was decided at last night's session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, the communists in this republic will not support the economic policy for next year unless it contains clear guarantees for the effective realization of the stances of the LCY Central Committee and the Slovene LC Central Committee on Agriculture and Livestock Breeding.

The communists of Slovenia most resolutely advocate an economic policy that will not give in to autarchic tendencies or to closing the economy and society to the world. The call was made for the immediate termination of price control of products and services for which there is a balance in supply and demand on the market, unless a more important influence on price hikes and living expenses is in question.

The Slovene LC Central Committee, in its orientations adopted on the duties of communists in formulating economic and development policy for next year, assesses that it is necessary to start work on ending the anomalies in the Anti-Inflation Program for which the proponents of economic policy are responsible, particularly the FEC, which proposed those measures and persevered in their adoption.

Communists must consistently and in all environments focus sharply on the question of whether the leading cadres are capable of drawing up, putting forward, and implementing long-term programs, or of transforming organizations of associated labor. The LC supports those leaders who are prepared and able to do this. The Slovene LC Central Committee Plenum was unanimous in its assessment that those who are incapable should leave their positions. In this connection, it is the duty of communists to be initiators, who prompt the self-managing organs to find and stimulate cadres who will know how to work in a new way with a continual process of training and education. On the basis of development plans in each organization of associated labor, programs should also be drawn up for retraining workers. This applies to workers in joint services and in administration, which must certainly be reduced, at all levels of society.

Gracanin Elected President of SR Serbia

AU221353 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Petar Gracanin, People's Hero and colonel general, retired, was elected president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia today. The Presidency of the SR of Serbia elected him unanimously by public vote on the basis of a proposal by the nomination conference of the SAWP of Serbia.

Background of Election

LD221746 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1637 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG)—Retired General Petar Gracanin (64) was today elected president of the presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Gracanin succeeds Ivan Stambolic, who was relieved of duty as president of the collective leadership in the largest of Yugoslavia's six republics last Monday.

Stambolic, who has remained member of the presidency, was relieved of duty after frequent public criticism caused above all by his "principled support" of Dragisa Pavlovic, former president of the Belgrade party committee who was replaced in September.

Petar Gracanin participated in the Yugoslav revolution from its beginning in 1941. He is a member of the top Serbian party leadership.

General Gracanin was the armed forces chief-of-staff until 1985, when his active army service ceased.

Statement After Election

AU221754 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Djordje Vlajic report on the session of the SR of Serbia Presidency]

[Text] The Presidency of Serbia has unanimously elected Petar Gracanin president of the Presidency. The session was attended by the highest republican officials. Here is a report by Djordje Vlajic:

The proposal that Petar Gracanin be elected president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia was expounded by Bogdan Trifunovic, president of the Republican SAWP Conference:

[Begin Trifunovic recording] In the consultations carried out on the proposal to elect Comrade Gracanin member of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, as well as on the later proposal to elect him president of the Presidency, we received unanimous and undivided support on the part of all participants in those consultations ranging from the communal to the republican levels. The broad support of working people and citizens can be received only by those personalities who can prove through specific results that they have performed their duties successfully and honorably, and have contributed to the solving of social problems in general as well as people's vital problems. The successful solving of very responsible tasks that are implied in the constitutional role of the

Presidency of the SR of Serbia is gaining in significance, particularly during these difficult times. It is, therefore, important to stress that it was the conviction of all participants in the consultations, as well as people in the SAWP of Serbia, that Comrade Gracanin possesses all political and work qualities which, along with his rich revolutionary experience and proven work energy, represent a reliable guarantee that he will perform the duties of the president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia successfully. [end recording]

Expressing thanks for the confidence shown to him, Petar Gracanin pointed out that this is the time of great demands and challenges, the time of a resolute struggle for the speedier solving of economic and social crisis, and for stable self-managing development. The LC and all organized socialist forces have undertaken the activity of solving the crisis. This was expected and demanded by communists, workers class, working people and citizens, as well as young people and veterans. This demand has been expressed very strongly during recent months and weeks on the occasion of the eighth session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia, Petar Gracanin pointed out.

[Begin Gracanin recording] Experience has shown many times until now, particularly under difficult and most difficult circumstances, that we can solve all problems efficiently and perform all tasks successfully when we are united, when there are strong and principled relations, particularly in the leaderships. Now when we have consolidated unity in the LC of Serbia and in the leadership of the SR of Serbia we have all necessary conditions for a speedier solving of this big crisis we are in. On this occasion I would like to recall the most important, focal tasks in the socioeconomic and political life, the tasks that we are in the process of solving. We shall be solving the grave economic situation that has been affecting many working collectives and people only by resolutely implementing the economic stabilization program and primarily by relying on our own forces. We must carry out constitutional changes to the end along the line of strengthening socialist self-management and through increasing the effectiveness of the political system. It is our common obligation and responsibility to carry out debates on large open questions concerning constitutional changes in a constructive and principled way, publicly and democratically, along the line of the LCY programmatic orientation, and in conformity with the interests of the workers class, the Serbian People, and all peoples and nationalities in the SR of Serbia. In solving difficult problems in Kosovo, it is our obligation to endure on the implementation of the conclusions [words indistinct] without any vacillation and postponement. When implementing these tasks, we have to do everything to (?normalize) the situation in the province [words indistinct] joint life of Serbs, Albanians, Montenegrins, and everybody in Kosovo. Through implementing the Yugoslav program, one creates conditions for the development of the province, a greater openness of Kosovo toward Serbia and Yugoslavia, and a greater presence of Serbia and Yugoslavia in their responsibility for Kosovo. [end recording]

Leaders Celebrate Yugoslav People's Army Day

Mamula Receives Representatives

LD212334 Zagreb Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] In connection with the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] Day on 22 December, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, today received with colleagues in Belgrade representatives of sociopolitical organizations led by Milojko Drulovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium.

On this occasion Drulovic, on behalf of the sociopolitical organizations, greeted Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula and all members of our Armed Forces in connection with tomorrow's YPA Day Holiday. Drulovic then stressed that the YPA is a symbol of Yugoslav unity and solidarity.

Thanking him for the greetings, Fleet Admiral Mamula stressed that the YPA members will continue in the future also to help society to overcome the current difficulties in the country's sociopolitical and economic development, and that they will consistenlty strengthen the Armed Forces and all the defense and protection forces.

The federal secretary for national defense stressed taht we must continue to intensify together and in a yet more organized way the ties and cooperation between the sociopolitical organizations and the party in all spheres. The YPA, for its part, will try to continue to improve and expand cooperation, giving it a newer and better content and, in the process, cherishing and developing the revolutionary traditions of the National Liberation war, especially Yugoslav socialist patriotism and all the other values of our socialist self-managing society, Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula said.

Mojsov Sends Congratulations

AU211939 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, has sent a message to the members of the Armed Forces of Yugoslavia on the occasion of 22 December, the day of the Yugoslav People's Army. Along with congratulations for the day and wishes for new work successes, the message stresses that our society is facing the task of resolutely solving the great problems of its further development and removing obstacles on the road of the realization of Tito's vision of a united and strong Yugoslavia, a community of equal peoples and nationalities. The Armed Forces and their every individual member have a prominent and significant role in the struggle still being waged by the organized socialist forces headed by the LC and all working people and citizens with a view to removing the causes of economic and other difficulties. The Armed Forces represent a significant factor in building the unity of our socialist community. Being professionally trained, morally and politically united, and connected with the people, through the further strengthening of all-people's defense and self-protection, you will best contribute to the consolidation of the defense capability and stability of our society, Lazar Mojsov said in his message addressed to the members of the Armed Forces on the occasion of tomorrow's holiday.

Presidency Hosts Reception

AU221741 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] On the occasion of the day of the Yugoslav People'sArmy, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, members of the Presidency, as well as the highest federal officials have received in the Palace of the Federation a delegation of the Armed Forces headed by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense. Attending the reception were the following people: Bosko Krunic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and member of the SFRY Presidency; Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Branko Mikulic, president of the FEC; Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and Dobroslav Culafic, federal secretary for internal affairs. It was pointed out at the reception that Army members have successfully performed all tasks during this year. As a united and strong collective, the Army is always faithful to the policy and aims of the LCY, to the interests of the workers class and of all our peoples and nationalities, and it has been and remains a guarantee of Yugoslavia's freedom and independence.

Delegation Decorates Tito's Grave

LD222237 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Excerpt] Throughout the country today, 22 December, the day of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] was celebrated at appropriate formal ceremonies. On this occasion, a delegation of the Yugoslav Armed Forces, including Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense; Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the YPA; and Colonel General Georgije Jovicic, president of the Presidium of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the YPA, today visited the Josip Broz Tito memorial center and laid flowers on the tomb of the supreme commander of the Yugoslav Armed Forces and marshal of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito. [passage omitted]

Presidency Decrees Promotions

LD212032 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] By decree of the SFRY Presidency, the following lieutant colonel-generals have been promoted to colonel-generals: Josip Gregoric, Anton Lukezic, Stevan Mirkovic, Svetislav Popovic, Martin Spegelj, and August Vrtar. The following major generals have been promoted to lieutenant-colonel generals: Blagoje Adzic, Milos Bajcetic, Ivan Ban, Zvonko Jurijevic, Mladenko Maksimovic, Jovan Mativic, Zivota Panic, Ivan Plese, Bogdan Rencelj, Milan Ruzinovski, Tomislav Simovic, Veso Srdic, Zarko Vujasinovic, and Vukosav Vujicic.

The following rear admiral has been promoted to vice admiral: Stane Brovet. The following colonels have been promoted to major generals: Aleksandar Boskovski, Milan Bratic, Dusan Budimir, Jerko Crmaric, Kosta Colovic, Miomir Djankic, Rade Zilas, Mihalj Djuknic, Ahmed Hodzic, Savo Jankovic, Tomislav Jovanovic, Vukasin Kristic, Angel Doncevski, Mihajlo Pavicic, Borcov Terevski, Rade Pompolic, Aleksandar Radovic, Branko Stankovic, Zoran Stojkovic, Milos Stozenic, Mico Saulic, Nebojsa Tica, Teodor Vrcarevic, Obrad Vucurovic, Zarko Vujicic, Ciril Zabret, and Milovan Zorc. The following naval captains have been promoted to rear admirals: Martin Matosevic and Djuro Pojer.

LCY CC Presidium Member on Media Allegations

LD162036 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 16 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, today denied reports in some newspapers which claimed that he had been involved in the prolonged controversial election of the president of the Yugoslav youth organization.

In his denial, Suvar states the following: "Over the last few days there have been a number of reports in the media alleging that I, in my capacity as a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, have sent a letter to the Yugoslav youth organization's leadership referring to the election of the president of the Presidium of the Federation of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia. POLET, a Croat youth paper, published a commentary on this which was written by a female member of the DANAS staff under a false name. The commentary is full of insinuations at my expense. The insinuations from the POLET commentary have also appeared in NIN, MLADOST, and SLOBODNA DALMACIJA. Some other newspapers, for instance VJESNIK, had even earlier launched similar claims about the alleged letter.

"I have never sent a letter to the Presidium of the Yugoslav youth organization. In other words, the text, signed with a false name, is full of false information and fabricated claims whose repetition in other papers was designed to achieve the known effect when a constantly repeated lie becomes truth."

Mikulic on Effect of Inflation Measures

LD182250 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 17 Dec 87

[text] Nikisc, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The measures and changes contained in the newly endorsed law on curbing inflation and the intervention laws will perhaps have too much of an unfavorable effect on the economic activity of some organizations of associated labor or activity, and for this reason we must maintain efforts to ensure that the "dosage is not too strong for the patient." But this does not mean that we can or that we are allowed to give up the consistent implementation of this law and the long-term program of economic stabilization, as was the case with the reform of 1967. This was stated, among other things, by FEC President Branko Mikulic at today's meeting with representatives of the Boris Kidric Ironworks in Niksic.

The FEC president stressed that even in the present difficult circumstances our country must devote great attention to speedier technological development and a reduction of the gap in this sphere, which is separating it from developed countries. If we do not accelerate the pace today we will condemn ourselves to long-term stagnation and a permanent outflow of income from Yugoslavia to developed countries, Mikulic said.

Stating that insufficient accumulation is the main barrier in this attempt, he drew attention to the need for associated labor in Yugoslavia to pool their resources, first and foremost for research and development. In this context, Mikulic placed special stress on the importance of the upbringing and motivation of young people and talented specialists, on which we must rely more and more because, in his words, not even the latest technology can cope without suitable cadres. The collectives who do not have this as their permanent orientation will face a permanent crisis with ever-growing consequences. As an example of an important "source" of accumulation, the FEC president gave savings and rationalization in all spheres and at all levels, calling for the establishment of a savings program from local communities to the federation. He also drew attention to a need for carrying out a revision of numerous institutions which, as he stressed, have multiplied especially in noneconomic branches. In this context, Mikulic stressed that there are too many various self-managing interest communities in the country, employing over 46,000 people and which we have set up alongside the federation organs, but which failed to replace them in their work and duties.

If we continue to spend as much as we have so far, Branko Mikulic said, we will unavoidably have to incur more and more foreign debts, almost without any prospects of repaying them. Stressing that this does not mean that he is against foreign debts because they are unavoidable under the recent circumstances, he said that funds from this source must be taken and channeled only for the realization of clearly defined, certain and effective programs that will give impetus to overcoming the economic crisis and developing more rapidly.

The FEC president also pointed out the need for considerably better work. The employees should be stimulated through personal incomes and in other ways, but at the same time measures of responsibility should be taken against those who refuse to work or who are unfit for it, as they cannot be guaranteed jobs forever. He expressed the conviction that changes to the Law on Associated Labor would resolve this problem more efficiently.

Calling for perseverence in implementing the principle of a realistic economy with regard to economic activity, Mikulic said that this phenomenon should perhaps also be more precisely defined, because it is obvious that ideological and political differences exist concerning its interpretation.

Replying to the questions of workers that were mainly related to the measures of the law for curbing inflation and the situation in ferrous metallurgy, FEC President Branko Mukulic said that all those who have, despite the ban, recently increased prices will have to restore them to the previous level and will also bear responsibility for it. He said that the new measures increased the prices of steel, which has to a certain extent improved the unfavorable position of this branch, giving impetus for the overcoming of the unenviable situation facing ferrous metallurgy in the entire country. He then stressed that working collectives themselves in these organizations. [transmission interrupted, no more TANJUG parts received]

Tomic Dismissed From Zenica Workers' Council

LD222230 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Delegates to the Workers' Council of Zenica Mining and Metallurgy Combine today dismissed Stanko Tomic [recently expelled from LC and LCY Central Committee] from the post of chairman of the combine's management board. Milan Malbasic, until now chairman of the Ljubija Mines, was appointed acting chairman.

A commission set up by the Workers' Council to examine Tomic's responsibility for and involvement in the Agrokomerc affair informed the Workers' Council that Tomic was responsible for having entered into an agreement about purchasing reinforced steel with Agrokomerc representatives with whom he also formulated terms of purchase despite the fact that this was not within either his or the management board's purview. It was also said that Tomic instructed the combine's internal bank to buy Agrokomerc's promissory notes at a discount and was personally involved in efforts to obtain a commissioned credit to the tune of 3.18 billion dinars from Invest Banka in order to settle Agrokomerc's debts with Jugobanka.

Kosovo TU Council Disciplines More Than 100

LD212144 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 21 Dec 87

[Text] Pristina, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Council of the Kosovo Trade Union recalled three members of the provincial trade union organization from their positions for irresponsibility, lack of activity, and inconsistency in implementing the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee.

Another 39 members of the Kosovo Trade Union Provincial Committee have also been recalled, and a decision by the municipal trade union councils to recall, replace, and expel from the trade union and to mete out ideopolitical measures on 122 members from 11 Kosovo trade union municipal councils was endorsed.

Sefedin Batali has been recalled from his position as member of the Kosovo Trade Union Council for "influencing, as member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, some of the cadre policy measures and decisions and for unquestioningly carrying out decisions by those who were in high places at the time." In that way, he contributed to voluntarism, subjectivism, and bureaucracy in cadre policy.

Following his dismissal from the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee in 1981, a year later, Sefedin Batali was elected member of the presidium of the provincial trade union organization which—according to the statement about his recall—was an obvious mistake.

Batali is one of the six former Kosovo officials recently expelled from the LC.

Ajtene Mikulovci has been recalled from her duties as member of the presidium of the Kosovo Trade Union Council for the lack of action and irresponsibility in fulfilling her tasks.

The council has also set in motion precedures to dismiss Fahrija Suljaj from his post as member of the Yugoslav Trade Union Council.

"Despite regular warnings, Fahrije Suljaj has not attended a single council session since his election"—notes the document explaining the initiative to dismiss Suljaj.

All the above-mentioned changes and replacements are said to result from the determination to implement the conclusions of the ninth session of the LCY Central Committee and of the Kosovo trade union's immediate tasks to help stabilize the political and overall situation in the province.

Hrabar View Trade Union Role in 'Crisis'

LD200958 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1556 GMT 19 Dec 87

[Text] Zagreb, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Under the pressure of the economic crisis, the crisis of the functioning of the system, as well as the political crisis and the increasingly threatened position of the workers, the trade unions' actions are oriented too much toward playing a protective role. The situation in society is such that the working class is in increasing danger, because 61 percent of them are already on below-average personal incomes. However, the trade unions must, in keeping with their constitutional position, change their attitude so as to enable them to realize the vital functions of the broadest organization of the class that is fighting for the constitutional position of workers. This was stressed by Zvonimir Hrbar, president of the Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Federation, speaking today at the Conference of the Croatian Trade Union Federation in Zagreb.

Turning to the topic of this meeting, the organization of self-managing interests, Hrbar drew attention to the tendencies of our reaching agreement too often to abolish something, as if in this way alone problems are solved. Perhaps we are being carried away by the euphoria of institutional changes and not paying attention to changes in our method and system of work so as to make the system more functional and rational. This, certainly, is not related solely to self-managing communities of interest, but to the entirety of relations in society. After all, for example, about 500,000 people attend meetings each day in this country and 800,000 are out sick.

In Hrbar's assessment, we also have a political crisis in society, because the economic situation cannot be bad while the political mood is all right, as we have deceived ourselves for so long. This political dissatisfaction is becoming manifest in various ways, and one of the characteristic ones are the work stoppages, the frequency of which have seriously increased.

This year there have been about 1,500 work stoppages involving more than 250,000 participants. This is 8.5 times more stoppages and 22 times more people taking part in them than in 1982. Recently work stoppages, Hrbar observed, have been becoming a "number-one fashion", because through them, attempts are made to resolve problems where, objectively, there is no need for such an expression of dissatisfaction.

Stressing that the trade unions have recently, and with justification, been exposed to serious criticism, Hrbar stressed the orientation toward changing this organization's method of work and mode of operation.

We have reached a situation where organizations of associated labor are left with only 55 percent or even only half of the income that they generate.

At the same time, out of a total revenue of 100 dinars, business costs account for 81 dinars, which, however, we manipulate to make income larger and deductions correspond to possibilities and, furthermore, to reduce costs when it is known that their reduction by only 1 of 2 percent brings an increase in income of 9 percent. The focus of trade union action must be in this area of development and incomes. A time has come that requires practical and effective moves, Zvonimir Hrbar concluded.

Further Reportage on Recent Work Stoppages

Croatian TU Chief's Statistics

LD190456 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 18 Dec 87

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Work stoppages are increasingly taking on the characteristics of not only economic but also of political and social conflicts in our society. So stated Ivo Bilandzija, president of the Council of the Croatian Trade Unions, speaking at the trade union federation conference in this republic, which began its 2-day session this afternoon in Zagreb.

Bilandzija cited statistics that in the first 11 months of this year, 393 work stoppages were recorded in the republic of Croatia, almost the same as the total number of stoppages in the previous 3 years combined. At the same time, the total number of participants in these stoppages exceeds the total number of participants in the entire period from 1979 to 1986.

A major characteristic of the work stoppages, in terms of causes, is the ultimate demand by an increasing number of workers for an increase in their personal incomes, chiefly within the limits of the growth of inflation. Work stoppages, Bilandzija stressed, are a reliable indicator of the real mood of workers and an important warning to the organs of the sociopolitical communities and all subjective forces to find concrete solutions more quickly that will lead to a way out of the social crisis.

Work Stoppages Double 1986 Number

LD161603 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1021 GMT 16 Dec 87

[Text] Zagreb, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The exacerbated economic situation and the decline in the standard of living have led to an increase in the number of work stoppages. In the last 11 months, a total of 393 work stoppages were registered in Croatia, in which about 65,500 workers took part. The number of work stoppages doubled in comparison with all of 1986, while the number of participants is three times the number for the whole of 1986. The principal cause is dissatisfaction with personal incomes and the main feature is increasingly determined requests for pay increases. Very often, work stoppages exceed the factory boundaries and in 44 percent of cases were directed against state organs.

These figures were presented today at a joint session of the Croat Trade Union Federation's Commission for Self-Management and Political System and the Commission for Safeguarding Workers' Self-Management Rights and Social Property. In addition to critical remarks about the Trade Union's inadequate and often contradictory involvement in work stoppages, there also was a call for continuing action to make Trade Union organizations more efficient during and after work stoppages.

Dissatisfaction in Ljubljana

AU151527 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Dec 87 p 14

[V. Simonovic report: "Neither Money Nor an Answer"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 November—After yesterday's protest walk-out on the streets of Ljubljana and the discussions at the Slovenian Assembly and at Cankarev Hall in Ljubljana, the workers at the Litostroj Tito Plant resumed regular work, and are waiting until 16 December, when they will take to the streets again if their demands are not met.

Out of dissatisfaction with their personal incomes, the workers have claimed a 50-percent raise, and have, in addition, demanded changes of some leading cadres, with the exception of the general director, the dismissal of the trade union conference, and of the executive committees in the basic organizations of associated labor. They have demanded that the state should pay back its debt to Litostroj—$28 million still unpaid for work done in Iraq, a sum which, according to today's exchange rate, amounts to almost 34 billion dinars.

After the strike, an extraordinary meeting of the Central Workers Council was held at which an attempt was made to find an answer to the question of how to obtain the money for the claimed 50-percent increase in personal incomes. Neither the money nor an answer was forthcoming. A further meeting of the Central Workers Council was postponed for the same reasons. A decision was sought, both from the banks and from the Republican Labor Committee.

The LC Communal Committee of the Ljubljana commune of Siska, whose Presidium also met immediately after the strike, discussed the events at Litostroj.

Stanislav Bradesko, president of the Ljubljana-Siska LC Communal Committee, commented: "It is clear that the work stoppage did not happen spontaneously, but was planned beforehand. But is is also true that the stoppage testified to workers dissatisfaction that in spite of their dedication and increased production they cannot achieve anything within Litostroj."

Ecuadorean Defense Minister Pays Visit

Arrives 17 Dec

LD181024 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 17 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 17 December (TANJUG)—Lieutenant General Medardo Salazar Navaz, minister of national defense of the Republic of Ecuador, leading a military delegation from his country, arrived today for an official and friendly visit to our country and armed forces.

During his stay in Yugoslavia, General Salazar Navaz will have talks on some interarmy cooperation issues with his host, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, and will visit some units and institutions of our armed forces.

At the airport at Surcin the minister of national defense of the Republic of Ecuador was welcomed by Admiral of the Fleet Brank Mamula, federal secretary of national defense; Rear Admiral Stane Provet, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat of National Defense; Lieutenant Colonel General Svetislav Popovic, assistant federal secretary for national defense; and Major General Jovan Matovic. Carlos Iribe Lasso, the ambassador of the Republic of Ecuador to the SFRY, also welcomed the delegation.

Received by Mamula

LD181649 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 18 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense, and his aides in Belgrade today held talks with General Medardo Salazar Navas, minister of national defense of the Republic of Ecuador, who is heading a military delegation on an official friendly visit to our country and its armed forces.

During the talks, which took place in a cordial and open atmosphere, particular mention was made of inter-army cooperation between the two friendly countries. It was established that there are favorable conditions and a need for future cooperation to be even further promoted, in particular in the area of military and economic relations.

The talks were also attended by Rear Admiral Stane Brovet, undersecretary in the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Lieutenant-Colonel General Svetislav Popovic, assistant federal secretary for national defense, and Major General Jovan Matovic. Carlos Uribe Laso, ambassador of the Republic of Ecuador to the SFRY, was also present at the talks.